

Po. angl.

Shakespeare

360^v

GESCHENK
FRESENIUS

PLAYS

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

VOLUME THE FIFTEENTH

THE
P L A Y S
OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

VOLUME THE FIFTEENTH.

OLD Y A

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

TO THE THEATRE

THE
PLAYS
OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

VOLUME THE FIFTEENTH.

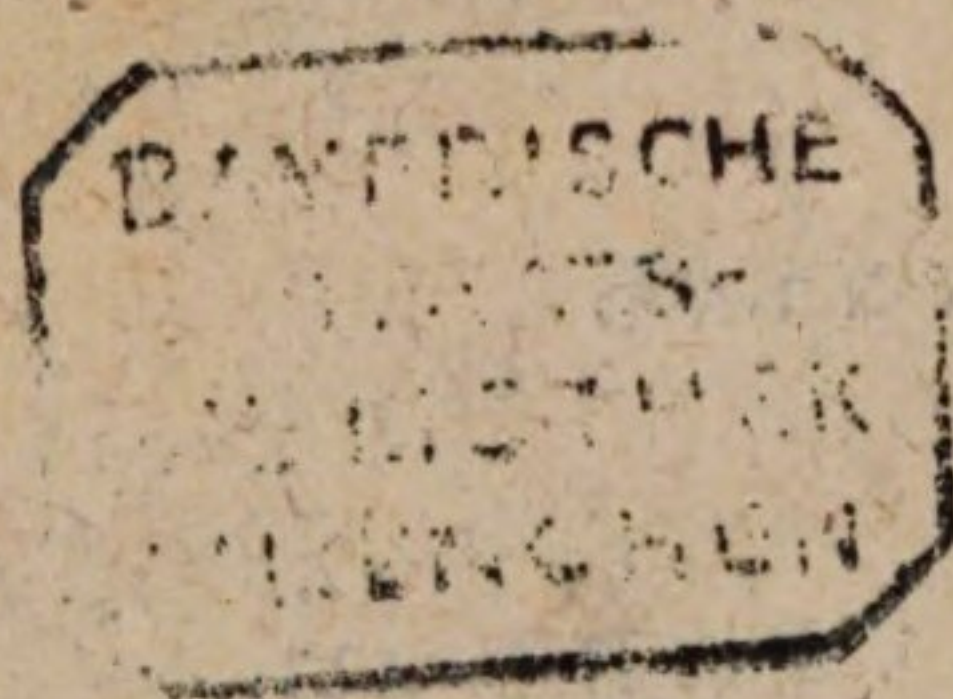
CONTAINING

KING HENRY VI. PART III.
DISSERTATION, &c.
KING RICHARD III.

B A S I L:

Printed and fold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.

M. DCCC. I.



KING HENRY VI.*

PART III.

VOL. XV.

B

* THIRD PART OF KING HENRY VI.] The action of this play (which was at first printed under this title, *The true Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, and the good King Henry the Sixth; or, The Second Part of the Contention of York and Lancaster*) opens just after the first battle at Saint Albans, [May 23, 1455,] wherein the York faction carried the day; and closes with the murder of king Henry VI. and the birth of prince Edward, afterwards king Edward V. [November 4, 1471,] So that this history takes in the space of full sixteen years. THEOBALD.

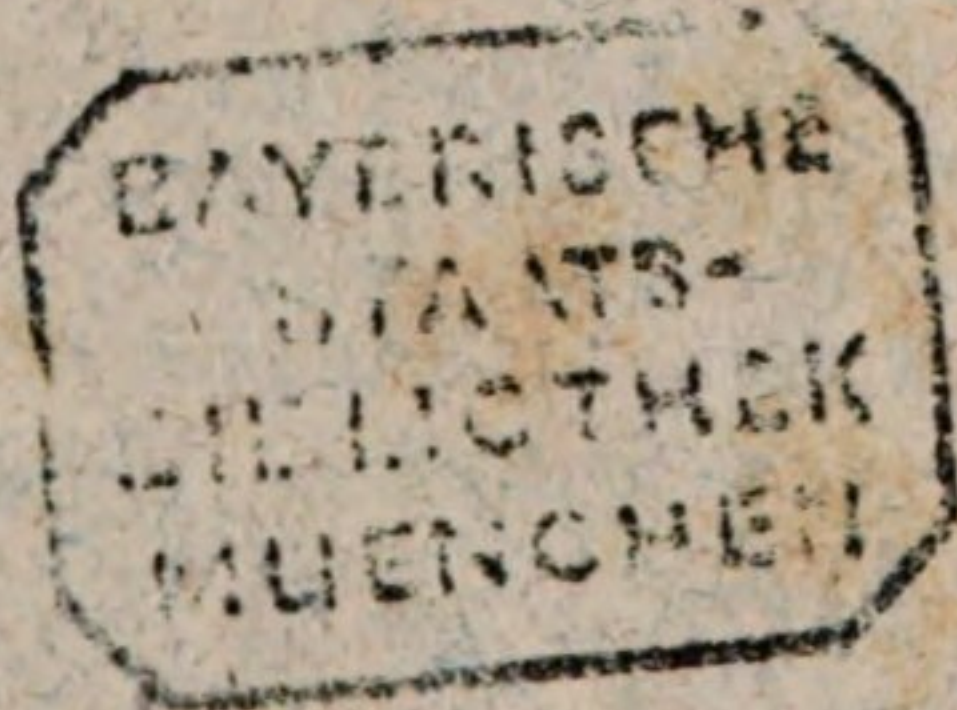
I have never seen the quarto copy of the *Second* part of THE WHOLE CONTENTION, &c. printed by *Valentine Simmes* for Thomas Millington, 1600; but the copy printed by W. W. for Thomas Millington, 1600, is now before me; and it is not precisely the same with that described by Mr. Pope and Mr. Theobald, nor does the undated edition (printed in fact, in 1619) correspond with their description. The title of the piece printed in 1600, by W. W. is as follows: *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt: With the whole contention between the two houses Lancaster and Yorke: as it was sundry times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his Servants. Printed at London by W. W. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe under St. Peter's Church in Cornewall, 1600.*" On this piece Shakspeare, as I conceive, in 1591 formed the drama before us. See Vol. XIV. p. 172, and the Essay at the end of this play. MALONE.

The present historical drama was altered by Crowne, and brought on the stage in the year 1680, under the title of *The Miseries of Civil War*. Surely the works of Shakspeare could have been little read at that period; for Crowne, in his prologue, declares the play to be entirely his own composition:

" For by his feeble skill 'tis built alone,

" The divine Shakspeare did not lay one stone."

whereas the very first scene is that of Jack Cade copied almost verbatim from the second part of *K. Henry VI.* and several others from this third part, with as little variation. STEEVENS.



PERSONS represented.

King Henry *the Sixth* :

Edward, *Prince of Wales*, his son.

Lewis XI. *King of France*.

Duke of Somerset. Duke of Exeter.

Earl of Oxford. Earl of Northum- } *Lords on King*
berland. Earl of Westmoreland. } *Henry's side.*
Lord Clifford.

Richard Plantagenet, *Duke of York*.

Edward, *Earl of March*, afterwards King
Edward IV.

Edmund, *Earl of Rutland*, } *his sons.*

George, afterwards *Duke of Clarence*,

Richard, afterwards *Duke of Gloucester*,

Duke of Norfolk,

Marquis of Montague,

Earl of Warwick,

Earl of Pembroke,

Lord Hastings,

Lord Stafford,

Sir John Mortimer,

Sir Hugh Mortimer,

Henry, *Earl of Richmond*, a Youth.

Lord Rivers, brother to Lady Grey. Sir William

Stanley. Sir John Montgomery. Sir John Somer-

ville. Tutor to Rutland. Mayor of York. Lieu-

tenant of the Tower. A Nobleman, Two Keepers.

A Huntsman. A son that has killed his father. A

father that has killed his son.

Queen Margaret.

Lady Grey, afterwards queen to Edward IV.

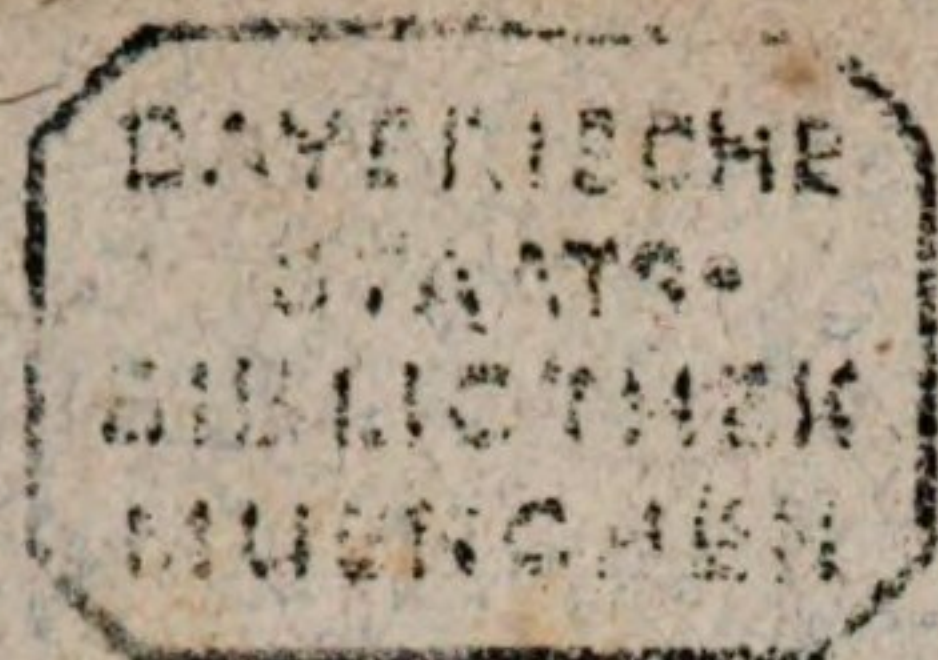
Bona, sister to the French queen.

Soldiers, and other Attendants on King Henry and

King Edward, Messengers, Watchmen, &c.

SCENE, during part of the third act, in France;

during all the rest of the play, in England.



THIRD PART OF
KING HENRY VI.*

ACT I. SCENE I.

London. *The Parliament-House.*

Drums. Some Soldiers of York's party break in. Then, Enter the Duke of YORK, EDWARD, RICHARD, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Others, with white roses in their hats.

WAR. I wonder, how the king escap'd our hands.

YORK. While we pursu'd the horsemen of the north,

He sily stole away, and left his men:

Whereat the great lord of Northumberland,

Whose warlike ears could never brook retreat,

' Cheer'd up the drooping army; and himself,

' Lord Clifford, and lord Stafford, all a-breast,

' Charg'd our main battle's front, and, breaking in,

' Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.²

² *Third Part of King Henry VI.]* This play is only divided from the former for the convenience of exhibition; for the series of action is continued without interruption, nor are any two scenes of any play more closely connected than the first scene of this play with the last of the former. JOHNSON.

³ *Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.]* See the Second part of this play, Vol. XIV. p. 365, n. 7. REED.

This is an inadvertency in our author. The elder Clifford was slain by York, and his son lives to revenge his death. M. MASON.

Dr. Percy in a note on the preceding play, has pointed out the inconsistency between this account, and the representation there, Clifford being killed on the stage by the duke of York, the present speaker. Shakspeare was led into this inconsistency by the author

EDW. Lord Stafford's father, duke of Buckingham,

' Is either slain, or wounded dangerous :

I cleft his beaver with a downright blow ;

' That this is true, father, behold his blood.

[*Showing his bloody sword.*]

MONT. And, brother, here's the earl of Wiltshire's blood, *To York, showing his.*

Whom I encounter'd as the battles join'd.

RICH. Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.⁴

[*Throwing down the duke of Somerset's head.*]

* YORK. Richard hath best deserv'd of all my sons.—

What, is your grace⁵ dead, my lord of Somerset?

of the original plays: if indeed there was but one author, for this circumstance might lead us to suspect that the *first* and *second* part of *The Contention*, &c. were not written by the same hand.—However, this is not decisive; for the author, whoever he was, might have been inadvertent, as we find Shakspeare undoubtedly was.

MALONE.

⁴ Rich. *Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.*] Here, as Mr. Elderton of Salisbury has observed to me, is a gross anachronism. At the time of the first battle of Saint Albans, at which Richard is represented in the last scene of the preceding play to have fought, he was, according to that gentleman's calculation, not one year old, having (as he conceives) been born at Fotheringay castle, October 21, 1454. At the time to which the third scene of the first act of this play is referred, he was, according to the same gentleman's computation, but six years old; and in the fifth act, in which Henry is represented as having been killed by him in the Tower, not more than sixteen and eight months.

For this anachronism the author or authors of the old plays on which our poet founded these two parts of King Henry the Sixth, are answerable. MALONE.

⁵ What, is your grace——] The folio reads—*But* is your grace, &c. It was evidently a mistake of the transcriber, the word in the old play being *What*, which suits sufficiently with York's exultation; whereas *But* affords no sense whatsoever. MALONE.

NORK. Such hope have all the line of John of Gaunt!

RICH. Thus do I hope to shake king Henry's head.

WAR. And so do I.—Victorious prince of York,
Before I see thee seated in that throne
Which now the house of Lancaster usurps,
I vow by heaven, these eyes shall never close.
This is the palace of the fearful king,
' And this the regal seat: possess it, York;
For this is thine, and not king Henry's heirs'.

YORK. Assist me then, sweet Warwick, and I will;

' For hither we have broken in by force.

NORF. We'll all assist you; he, that flies, shall die.

YORK. Thanks, gentle Norfolk,—Stay by me, my lords;—

' And, soldiers, stay, and lodge by me this night.

WAR. And, when the king comes, offer him no violence,

' Unless he seek to thrust you out by force.

[*They retire.*]

* YORK. The queen, this day, here holds her parliament;

* But little thinks, we shall be of her council:

* By words, or blows, here let us win our right.

Though the sense and verse are complete without either *But* or *What*, I suppose we ought to read—

What, 's your grace dead, my lord of Somerset?

I do not, however, perceive the inefficiency of—*but*. This conjunction is sometimes indeterminately used; and is also insultingly employed in *Twelfth-Night*: “*But, are you not mad indeed, or do you but counterfeit?*” STEEVENS.

RICH. Arm'd as we are, let's stay within this house.

WAR. The bloody parliament shall this be call'd, Unless Plantagenet, duke of York, be king ; And bashful Henry depos'd, whose cowardice Hath made us by-words to our enemies.

' YORK. Then leave me not, my lords ; be resolute ;

I mean to take possession of my right.

WAR. Neither the king, nor he that loves him best,

' The proudest he that holds up Lancaster, Dares stir a wing, if Warwick shake his bells.⁶

' I'll plant Plantagenet, root him up who dares :— Resolve thee, Richard ; claim the English crown.

[Warwick leads York to the throne, who seats himself.]

Flourish. Enter King HENRY, CLIFFORD, NORTHUMBERLAND, WESTMORELAND, EXETER, and Others, with red roses in their hats.

K. HEN. My lords, look where the sturdy rebel sits,

Even in the chair of state ! belike, he means, (Back'd by the power of Warwick, that false peer,) To aspire unto the crown, and reign as king.— Earl of Northumberland, he slew thy father ;— And thine, lord Clifford ; and you both have vow'd revenge

On him, his sons, his favourites, and his friends.

' NORTH. If I be not, heavens, be reveng'd on me !

⁶ ——— if Warwick shake his bells.] The allusion is to falconry. The hawks had sometimes little bells hung upon them, perhaps to dare the birds ; that is, to fright them from rising. JOHNSON.

CLIF. The hope thereof makes Clifford mourn
in steel.

WEST. What, shall we suffer this? let's pluck
him down:

My heart for anger burns, I cannot brook it.

K. HEN. Be patient, gentle earl of Westmore-
land.

CLIF. Patience is for poltroons, and such as he:⁷
He durst not sit there, had your father liv'd.
My gracious lord, here in the parliament.
Let us assail the family of York.

NORTH. Well hast thou spoken, cousin; be it so.

K. HEN. Ah, know you not, the city favours
them,

And they have troops of soldiers at their beck?

EXE. But, when the duke is slain, they'll quick-
ly fly.⁸

K. HEN. Far be the thought of this from Henry's
heart,

To make a shambles of the parliament house!

Cousin of Exeter, frowns, words, and threats,

Shall be the war that Henry means to use.—

[*They advance to the duke.*]

Thou factious duke of York, descend my throne.

And kneel for grace and mercy at my feet;

I am thy sovereign.

YORK.

Thou art deceiv'd,⁹ I am thine.

⁷ ——— and *such as he:*] Thus the second folio. The first folio
and the quartos omit—and. STEEVENS.

⁸ Exe. *But, when &c.*] This line is by the mistake of the com-
positor given to Westmoreland. The king's answer shows that it
belongs to Exeter, to whom it is assigned in the old play.

MALONE.

⁹ *Thou art deceiv'd,*] These words, which are not in the folio,

EXE. For shame, come down; he made thee duke
of York.

YORK. 'Twas my inheritance, as the earldom
was.⁹

EXE. Thy father was a traitor to the crown.

WAR. Exeter, thou art a traitor to the crown,
In following this usurping Henry.

CLIF. Whom should he follow, but his natural
king?

WAR. True, Clifford; and that's Richard,² duke
of York.

K. HEN. And shall I stand, and thou sit in my
throne?

YORK. It must and shall be so. Content thyself.

WAR. Be duke of Lancaster, let him be king.

WEST. He is both king and duke of Lancaster;
And that the lord of Westmoreland shall maintain.

WAR. And Warwick shall disprove it. You for-
get,

That we are those, which chas'd you from the field,
And slew your fathers, and with colours spread

were restored from the old play. The defect of the metre in the
folio, makes it probable that they were accidentally omitted. The
measure is, however, still faulty. MALONE.

⁹ — as the earldom was.] Thus the folio. The quarto 1600,
and that without date, read—as the kingdom is. STEEVENS.

York means, I suppose, that the dukedom of York was his in-
heritance from his father, as the earldom of March was his inheri-
tance from his mother, Anne Mortimer, the wife of the earl of
Cambridge; and by naming the earldom, he covertly asserts his
right to the crown; for his title to the crown was not as duke of
York, but earl of March.

In the original play the line stands [as quoted by Mr. Steevens;]
and why Shakspeare altered it, it is not easy to say; for the new
line only exhibits the same meaning more obscurely. MALONE.

² — and that's Richard,] The word *and*, which was acciden-
tally omitted in the first folio, is found in the old play. MALONE.

March'd through the city to the palace gates.

‘ NORTH. Yes, Warwick, I remember it to my grief;

And, by his soul, thou and thy house shall rue it.

‘ WEST. Plantagenet, of thee, and these thy sons, Thy kinsmen, and thy friends, I'll have more lives, Than drops of blood were in my father's veins.

‘ CLIF. Urge it no more; lest that, instead of words,

I send thee, Warwick such a messenger,

As shall revenge his death, before I stir.

‘ WAR. Poor Clifford! how I scorn his worthless threats!

YORK. Will you, we show our title to the crown?

‘ If not, our swords shall plead it in the field.

K. HEN. What title hast thou, traitor, to the crown?

Thy father was, as thou art, duke of York;³

Thy grandfather, Roger Mortimer, earl of March:

I am the son of Henry the fifth,⁴

Who made the Dauphin and the French to stoop, And seiz'd upon their towns and provinces.

WAR. Talk not of France, sith⁵ thou hast lost it all.

K. HEN. The lord protector lost it, and not I;

³ *Thy father was, as thou art, duke of York;*] This is a mistake, into which Shakspeare was led by the author of the old play. The father of Richard duke of York was earl of Cambridge, and was never duke of York, being beheaded in the life-time of his elder brother Edward duke of York, who fell in the battle of Agincourt. The folio, by an evident error of the press, reads—My father, The true reading was furnished by the old play. MALONE.

⁴ *I am the son of Henry the fifth,*] The military reputation of Henry the Fifth is the sole support of his son. The name of Henry the Fifth dispersed the followers of Cade. JOHNSON.

⁵ —sith—] i. e. since. So, in *Measure for Measure*:

“Sith ’twas my fault to give the people scope.” STEEVENS.

When I was crown'd, I was but nine months old.

RICH. You are old enough now, and yet, methinks, you lose:—

Father, tear the crown from the usurper's head.

LDW. Sweet father, do so; set it on your head.

MONT. Good brother, [*to YORK.*] as thou lov'st and honour'st arms,

Let's fight it out, and not stand cavilling thus.

RICH. Sound drums and trumpets, and the king will fly.

YORK. Sons, peace!

K. HEN. Peace thou! and give king Henry leave to speak.

WAR. Plantagenet shall speak first:—hear him, lords;

And be you silent and attentive too,

For he, that interrupts him shall not live.

K. HEN. Think'st thou, that I will leave my kingly throne,⁴

Wherein my grandfire, and my father, sat?

No: first shall war unpeople this my realm;

Ay, and their colours—often borne in France;

And now in England, to our heart's great sorrow,—
Shall be my winding-sheet.⁵—Why faint you, lords?

⁴ *Think'st thou, &c.*] The old play here exhibits four lines that are not in the folio. They could not have proceeded from the imagination of the transcriber, and therefore they must be added to the many other circumstances that have been already urged, to show that these plays were not originally the production of Shakspeare:

“ Ah Plantagenet, why seek'st thou to depose me?

“ Are we not both Plantagenets by birth,

“ And from two brothers lineally discent?

“ Suppose by right and equity thou be king,

“ Think'st thou,” &c. MALONE.

⁵ *Shall be my winding-sheet.*] Perhaps Mr. Gray had this passage in his mind, when he wrote—

“ Weave the warp, and weave the woof,

“ The winding-sheet of Edward's race—.” STEEVENS.

‘ My title’s good, and better far than his.

WAR. But prove it, Henry, and thou shalt be king.⁶

K. HEN. Henry the fourth by conquest got the crown.

YORK. ’Twas by rebellion against his king,

K. HEN. I know not what to say; my title’s weak.

Tell me, may not a king adopt an heir?

YORK. What then?

‘ K. HEN. An if he may, then am I lawful king:

‘ For Richard, in the view of many lords,

Resign’d the crown to Henry the fourth;

Whose heir my father was, and I am his.

YORK. He rose against him, being his sovereign,
And made him to resign his crown perforce.

WAR. suppose, my lords, he did it unconstrain’d,
Think you, ’twere prejudicial to his crown?⁷

EXE. No; for he could not so resign his crown,
But that the next heir should succeed and reign.

K. HEN. Art thou against us duke of Exeter?

⁶ But *prove it, Henry, and thou shalt be king.*] Thus the second folio. The first omits the necessary word—*But.* STEEVENS.

Henry is frequently used by Shakspeare and his contemporaries as a word of three syllables. MALONE.

But not as in the present instance, where such a trissyllable must, prove offensive to the ear. STEEVENS.

⁷ *Think you, ’twere prejudicial to his crown?*] The phrase *prejudicial to the crown*, if it be right, must mean, detrimental to the general rights of hereditary royalty; but I rather think that the transcriber’s eye caught *crown* from the line below, and that we should read—*prejudicial to his son, to his next heir.* JOHNSON.

Dr. Percy observes on Dr. Johnson’s note, that *son* could not have been the right word, as Richard the Second had no issue; and our author would hardly have used it simply for *heir general.* *Prejudicial to the crown*, is right, i. e. to the prerogative of the crown.

STEEVENS.

EXE. His is the right, and therefore pardon me.

* YORK. Why whisper you, my lords, and answer not?

EXE. My conscience tells me, he is lawful king.

K. HEN. All will revolt from me, and turn to him.

NORTH. Plantagenet, for all the claim thou lay'st, Think not, that Henry shall be so depos'd.

WAR. Depos'd he shall be, in despite of all.

NORTH. Thou art deceiv'd: 'tis not thy southern power,

Of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, nor of Kent,— Which makes thee thus presumptuous and proud,— Can set the duke up, in despite of me.

CLIF. King Henry, be thy title right or wrong, Lord Clifford vows to fight in thy defence:

May that ground gape, and swallow me alive,⁸

Where I shall kneel to him that slew my father!

K. HEN. O Clifford, how thy words revive my heart!

YORK. Henry of Lancaster, resign thy crown:— What mutter you, or what conspire you, lords?

WAR. Do right unto this princely duke of York; Or I will fill the house with armed men.

And, o'er the chair of state, where now he sits,

Write up his title with usurping blood.

[*He stamps, and the soldiers show themselves.*

K. HEN. My lord of Warwick, hear but one word;⁹ —

⁸ *May that ground gape, and swallow me alive,*] So, in Phaer's Translation of the fourth Æneid:

“ But rather would I wish the ground to gape for me below.”

STEEVENS.

⁹ ——hear *but one word*;] *Hear* is in this line, as in some other

‘ Let me, for this my life-time, reign as king.

YORK. Confirm the crown to me, and to mine heirs,

And thou shalt reign in quiet while thou liv’st.

K. HEN. I am content: Richard Plantagenet,
Enjoy the kingdom after my decease.²

CLIF. What wrong is this unto the prince your son?

WAR. What good is this to England, and himself?

WEST. Base, fearful, and despairing Henry!

‘ CLIF. How hast thou injur’d both thyself and us?

WEST. I cannot stay to hear these articles.

NORTH. Nor I.

CLIF. Come, cousin, let us tell the queen these news.

* WEST. Farewell, faint-hearted and degenerate king,

* In whose cold blood no spark of honour bides.

NORTH. Be thou a prey unto the house of York,

‘ And die in bands for this unmanly deed!

CLIF. In dreadful war may’st thou be overcome!

places, used as a dissyllable. See Vol. XII. p. 361. n. 6. The editor of the third folio, and all the subsequent editors, read—*hear me* but one word. MALONE.

The word—*hear*, in this place, may certainly pass as a dissyllable. Respecting that referred to by Mr. Malone, I am of a contrary opinion. STEEVENS.

² *I am content: &c.*] Instead of this speech the old play has the following lines:

“ King. Convey the soldiers hence, and then I will.

“ War. Captaine, condu& them into Tuthilfields.”

See Vol. XIV. p. 190, n. 8; p. 198, n. 2; p. 208, n. 2; p. 294, n. 4; and p. 300, n. 6. MALONE.

Or live in peace, abandon'd, and despis'd !

[*Exeunt* NORTHUMBERLAND, CLIFFORD, and
WESTMORELAND.

* WAR. Turn this way, Henry, and regard them
not.

EXE. Thy seek revenge,³ and therefore will not
yield.

K. HEN. Ah, Exeter !

WAR. Why should you fight, my lord ?

K. HEN. Not for myself, lord Warwick, but my
son,

Whom I unnaturally shall disinherit.

But, be it as it may :—I here entail

' The crown to thee, and to thine heirs for ever ;

Conditionally, that here thou take an oath

To cease this civil war, and, whilst I live,

To honour me as thy king and sovereign ;

* And neither⁴ by treason, nor hostility,

* To seek to put me down, and reign thyself.

YORK. This oath I willingly take, and will per-
form. [*Coming from the throne.*

³ *They seek revenge,*] They go away, not because they doubt the justice of this determination, but because they have been conquered, and seek to be revenged. They are not influenced by principle, but passion. JOHNSON.

⁴ *And neither—*] *Neither, either, whether, brother, rather,* and many similar words, were used by Shakspeare as monosyllables. So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* :

" *Either death or you I'll find immediately.*"

The editor of the second folio, who appears to have been entirely ignorant of our author's metre and phraseology, not knowing this, omitted the word *And*. MALONE.

My ignorance must be content to accompany that of the editor of the second folio ; for how—*either, brother, neither, or rather,* can be pronounced as monosyllables, I am yet to learn.

The versification, however, in this and the preceding play is often so irregular, that I leave the passage before us as it stands in the first folio. STEEVENS.

WAR. Long live king Henry! — Plantagenet embrace him.

* K. HEN. And long live thou, and these thy forward sons!

YORK. Now York and Lancaster are reconcil'd.

EXE. Accurs'd be he, that seeks to make them foes! [*Senet. The lords come forward.*]

* YORK. Farewell, my gracious lord; I'll to my castle.⁵

WAR. And I'll keep London with my soldiers.

NORF. And I to Norfolk, with my followers.

MONT. And I unto the sea, from whence I came.

[*Exeunt YORK, and his sons, WARWICK, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, Soldiers, and Attendants.*]

* K. HEN. And I, with grief and sorrow, to the court.

Enter Queen MARGARET and the Prince of Wales.

EXE. Here comes the queen, whose looks bewray⁶ her anger:

I'll steal away.

K. HEN. Exeter, so will I. [*Going.*]

* Q. MAR. Nay, go not from me; I will follow thee.

K. HEN. Be patient, gentle queen, and I will stay.

* Q. MAR. Who can be patient in such extremes?

* Ah, wretched man! 'would I had died a maid,

⁵ — I'll to my castle.] Sandal Castle near Wakefield, in Yorkshire. MALONE.

⁶ — bewray —] i. e. betray, discover. So, in *King Lear*:
"Mark the high noises, and thyself bewray."

Again, *ibid*:

"He did bewray his practice." STEEVENS.

- * And never seen thee, never borne thee son;
- * Seeing thou hast prov'd so unnatural a father!
- Hath he deserv'd to lose his birthright thus?
- * Hadst thou but lov'd him half so well as I;
- * Or felt that pain which I did for him once;
- * Or nourish'd him, as I did with my blood;
- * Thou wouldst have left thy dearest heart-blood
there,
- * Rather than made⁶ that savage duke thine heir,
- * And disinherited thine only son.
- * PRINCE. Father, you cannot disinherit me:
- * If you be king, why should not I succeed?
- * K. HEN. Pardon me, Margaret; — pardon me,
sweet son; —
- * The earl of Warwick, and the duke, enforc'd me.
- * Q. MAR. Enforc'd thee! art thou king, and
wilt be forc'd?
- I shame to hear thee speak. Ah, timorous wretch!
- Thou hast undone thyself, thy son, and me;
- And given unto the house of York such head,
- * As thou shalt reign but by their sufferance.
- * To entail him and his heirs unto the crown,
- * What is it, but to make thy sepulchre,⁷
- * And creep into it far before thy time?
- * Warwick is chancellor, and the lord of Calais;
- Stern Faulconbridge commands the narrow seas;⁸

⁶ *Rather than made* —] Old copy — *Rather than have made*. The compositor inadvertently repeated the word — *have*, from the preceding line. STEEVENS.

Rather is here used as a monosyllable. See p. 16, n. 4.

MALONE.

⁷ *What is it, but to make thy sepulchre,*] The queen's reproach is founded on a position long received among politicians, that the loss of a king's power is soon followed by loss of life. JOHNSON.

⁸ *Stern Faulconbridge commands the narrow seas;*] So, in Marlowe's *Edward II*:

“The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas.”

The duke is made protector of the realm;
 ' And yet shalt thou be safe? * such safety finds
 * The trembling lamb, environed with wolves.
 ' Had I been there, which am a silly woman,
 ' The soldiers should have tofs'd me on their pikes,
 ' Before I would have granted to that act.
 * But thou preferr'st thy life before thine honour:
 ' And, seeing thou dost, I here divorce myself,
 ' Both from thy table, Henry, and thy bed,
 ' Until that act of parliament be repeal'd,
 ' Whereby my son is disinherited.⁹
 The northern lords, that have forsworn thy colours,
 Will follow mine, if once they see them spread:

This may be too slight a circumstance to prove Marlowe the author of *The Whole Contention*; it is, however, in other respects, sufficiently probable that he had some hand in it.

The person here meant was Thomas Nevil, bastard son to the lord Faulconbridge, "a man," says Hall, "of no lesse corage then audacitie, who for his euel condicions was such an apte person, that a more meter could not be chosen to set all the worlde in a broyle, and to put the estate of the realme on an y hazard." He had been appointed by Warwick vice-admiral of the sea, and had in charge so to keep the passage between Dover and Calais, that none which either favoured king Henry or his friends should escape untaken or undrowned: such, at least, were his instructions, with respect to the friends and favourers of King Edward, after the rupture between him and Warwick. On Warwick's death, he fell into poverty, and robbed, both by sea and land, as well friends as enemies. He once brought his ships up the Thames, and with a considerable body of the men of Kent and Essex, made a spirited assault on the city, with a view to plunder and pillage, which was not repelled but after a sharp conflict and the loss of many lives; and, had it happened at a more critical period, might have been attended with fatal consequences to Edward. After roving on the sea some little time longer, he ventured to land at Southampton, where he was taken and beheaded. See *Hall* and *Holinshed*. RITSON.

⁹ *Whereby my son is disinherited.*] The corresponding line in the old play is this. The variation is remarkable:

"Wherein thou yieldest to the house of York." MALONE.

‘ And spread they shall be; to thy foul disgrace,
 ‘ And utter ruin of the house of York.
 ‘ Thus do I leave thee: — Come, son, let’s away;
 ‘ Our army’s ready; come, we’ll after them.

K. HEN. Stay, gentle Margaret, and hear me
 speak.

Q. MAR. Thou hast spoke too much already;
 get thee gone.

K. HEN. Gentle son Edward, thou wilt stay with
 me?

Q. MAR. Ay, to be murder’d by his enemies.

PRINCE. When I return with victory from the
 field,²

I’ll see your grace: till then, I’ll follow her.

Q. MAR. Come, son, away; we may not linger
 thus.

[*Exeunt Queen MARGARET, and the Prince.*

‘ K. HEN. Poor queen! how love to me, and
 to her son,

‘ Hath made her break out into terms of rage!

‘ Reveng’d may she be on that hateful duke;

* Whose haughty spirit, winged with desire,

* Will cost my crown, and, like an empty eagle,³

² — from *the field*,] Folio — *to the field*. The true reading is found in the old play. MALONE.

³ *Whose haughty spirit, winged with desire,*
Will cost my crown, and, like an empty eagle, &c.] Read *coast*,
 i. e. hover over it. WARBURTON.

Dr. Warburton’s alteration aims at a distinction without a difference, both *cost* and *coast* being ultimately derivations of the same original. HENLEY.

The word which Dr. Warburton would introduce, has been supposed to violate the metaphor; nor indeed is *to coast* used as a term of falconry in any of the books professedly written on that subject. To *coast* is a sea-faring expression, and means to keep along shore. We may, however, maintain the integrity of the

- * Tire on the flesh of me, and of my son! ⁴
- * The loss of those three lords ⁵ torments my heart:
- * I'll write unto them, and entreat them fair; —
- * Come, cousin, you shall be the messenger. ⁶

figure, by inserting the word *cote*, which is used in *Hamlet*, and in a sense convenient enough on this occasion:

“ We *coted* them on the way. ”

To *cote* is to come up with, to overtake, to reach.

So, in *The Return from Parnassus*, a comedy, 1606:

“ ——— marry, we presently *coted* and outstript them. ”

Yet, on further inquiry, I am become less certain, that to *coast* is merely a sea-faring expression. It is used in the following instance to denote speed:

“ And all in haste she *coasteth* to the cry. ”

Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*.

Again, in *The Loyal Subject*, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

“ Take you those horse, and *coast* them. ”

Again, in *The Maid of the Mill*, by the same authors, two gentlemen are entering, and a lady asks:

“ ——— who are those that *coast* us? ”

Mr. Tollet therefore observes, that Dr. Warburton's interpretation may be right, as Holinshed often uses the verb to *coast*, i. e. to hover, or range about any thing. See Vol. III. p. 352: “ William Douglas still *coasted* the Englishmen, doing them what damage he might. ” So, again, p. 387, and 404, and in other writers. STEEVENS.

Will cost my crown,] i. e. will cost me my crown; will induce on me the expence or loss of my crown. MALONE.

Had this been our author's meaning, he would have otherwise formed his verse, and written “ cost me my crown. ” So, in *King Lear*:

“ The dark and vicious place where thee he got,

“ Cost him his eyes. ” STEEVENS.

⁴ *Tire on the flesh of me, &c.*] To *tire* is to fasten, to fix the talons, from the French *tirer*. JOHNSON.

To *tire* is to peck. So, in Decker's *Match me in London*, 1631:

“ ——— the vulture *tires*

“ Upon the eagle's heart. ” STEEVENS.

⁵ ——— *those three lords* ———] That is, of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Clifford, who had left him in disgust. JOHNSON.

⁶ ——— *you shall be the messenger.*] Instead of the six last lines of this speech, the first copy presents these:

* EXE. And I, I hope, shall reconcile them
all. [*Exeunt.*

S C E N E II.

*A Room in Sandal Castle, near Wakefield, in
Yorkshire.*

Enter EDWARD, RICHARD, and MONTAGUE.

‘ RICH. Brother, though I be youngest, give me
leave.

EDW. No, I can better play the orator.

MONT. But I have reasons strong and forcible.

Enter YORK.

‘ YORK. Why, how now, sons, and brother,³ at
a strife?

‘ What is your quarrel? how began it first?

“ Come, cousin of Exeter, stay thou here,

“ For Clifford and those northern lords be gone,

“ I fear towards Wakefield, to disturb the duke. ”

See p. 15, n. 2. and the notes there referred to. MALONE.

³ — — *sons, and brother,*] I believe we should read — *cousin* instead of *brother*, unless *brother* be used by Shakspeare as a term expressive of endearment, or because they embarked, like brothers, in one cause. Montague was only cousin to York, and in the quarto he is so called. Shakspeare uses the expression, *brother of the war*, in *King Lear*. STEEVENS.

It should be *sons and brothers*; my *sons*, and *brothers* to each other. JOHNSON.

Brother is right. In the two succeeding pages York calls Montague *brother*. This may be in respect to their being *brothers of the war*, as Mr. Steevens observes, or of the same council as in *King Henry VIII.* who says to Cranmer, “You are *brother of us*.” Montague was brother to Warwick; Warwick’s daughter was married to a son of York: therefore York and Montague were brothers.

‘ EDW. No quarrel, but a slight contention.⁴

YORK. About what?

‘ RICH. About that which concerns your grace,
and us;

‘ The crown of England, father, which is yours.

‘ YORK. Mine, boy? not till king Henry be
dead.

* RICH. Your right depends not on his life, or
death.

* EDW. Now you are heir, therefore enjoy it
now:

* By giving the house of Lancaster leave to breathe,

* It will outrun you, father, in the end.

‘ YORK. I took an oath, that he should quietly
reign.

‘ EDW. But, for a kingdom, any oath may be
broken:

‘ I’d break a thousand oaths, to reign one year.

But as this alliance did not take place during the life of York, I embrace Mr. Steevens’s interpretation rather than suppose that Shakspeare made a mistake about the time of the marriage.

TOLLET.

The third folio reads as Dr. Johnson advises. But as York again in this scene addresses Montague by the title of *brother*, and Montague uses the same to York, Dr. Johnson’s conjecture cannot be right. Shakspeare certainly supposed them to be brothers-in-law.

MALONE.

⁴ *No quarrel, but a slight contention.*] Thus the players, first, in their edition; who did not understand, I presume, the force of the epithet in the old quarto, which I have restored — *sweet contention*, i. e. the argument of their dispute was upon a grateful topic; the question of their father’s immediate right to the crown.

THEOBALD.

Sweet is, I think, the better reading of the two; and I should certainly have received it had it been found in the folio, which Mr. Malone supposes to be the copy of this play, as reformed by Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

‘ RICH. No; God forbid, your grace should be
forsworn.⁵

‘ YORK. I shall be, if I claim by open war.

‘ RICH. I’ll prove the contrary, if you’ll hear
me speak.

‘ YORK. Thou canst not, son; it is impossible.

‘ RICH. An oath is of no moment,⁶ being not
took

‘ Before a true and lawful magistrate,
‘ That hath authority over him that swears:
‘ Henry had none, but did usurp the place;
‘ Then, seeing ’twas he that made you to depose,
‘ Your oath, my lord, is vain and frivolous.
‘ Therefore, to arms. * And, father, do but think,
* How sweet a thing it is to wear a crown;
* Within whose circuit is Elysium,
* And all that poets feign of bliss and joy.
* Why do we linger thus? I cannot rest,

⁵ *Rich. No; God forbid, &c.*] Instead of this and the three fol-
lowing speeches, the old play has these lines:

Rich. An if it please your grace to give me leave,
I’ll shew your grace the way to save your oath,
And dispossess King Henry from the crown.

York. I pr’ythee, Dick, let me hear thy devise.

MALONE.

⁶ *An oath is of no moment,*] The obligation of an oath is here
eluded by very despicable sophistry. A lawful magistrate alone
has the power to exact an oath, but the oath derives no part of its
force from the magistrate. The plea against the obligation of an
oath obliging to maintain an usurper, taken from the unlawfulness
of the oath itself in the foregoing play, was rational and just.

JOHNSON.

This speech is formed on the following one in the old play:

Rich. Then thus, my lord. An oath is of no moment,
Being not sworn before a lawful magistrate;
Henry is none, but doth usurp your right;
And yet your grace stands bound to him by oath:
Then, noble father,
Resolve yourself, and once more claim the crown.

MALONE.

- * Until the white rose, that I wear, be dy'd
 * Even in the lukewarm blood of Henry's heart.
 ' YORK. Richard, enough ; I will be king, or
 die. —
 ' Brother, thou shalt to London presently,⁷
 ' And whet on Warwick to this enterprize. —
 ' Thou, Richard, shalt unto the duke of Norfolk,
 ' And tell him privily of our intent. —
 ' You, Edward, shalt unto my lord Cobham,
 With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise:
 ' In them I trust ; for they are soldiers,
 ' Witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit.⁸ —

⁷ *Brother, thou shalt to London presently,*] Thus the original play:
 Edward, thou shalt to Edmond Brooke, lord Cobham,
 With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise.
 Thou, cousin Montague, shalt to Norfolk straight,
 And bid the duke to muster up his soldiers,
 And come to me to Wakefield presently.
 And Richard, thou to London straight shall post,
 And bid Richard Nevill Earl of Warwick
 To leave the city, and with his men of war
 To meet me at St. Albans ten days hence.
 My self here in Sandall castle will provide
 Both men and money, to further our attempts. MALONE.

⁸ *Witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit.*] What a blessed harmonious line have the editors given us ! and what a promising epithet, in York's behalf, from the Kentishmen being so witty ! I cannot be so partial, however, to my own county, as to let this compliment pass. I make no doubt to read:

— for they are soldiers,
 Wealthy and courteous, liberal, full of spirit.

Now these five characteristics answer to lord Say's description of them in the preceding play :

" Kent, in the commentaries Cæsar writ,
 " Is term'd the civil'st place in all this isle ;
 " The people liberal, valiant, active, wealthy." THEOBALD.

This is a conjecture of very little import. JOHNSON.

I see no reason for adopting Theobald's emendation. *Witty* anciently signified, of sound judgment. The poet calls Buckingham,
 " the deep revolving, witty Buckingham." STEEVENS.

* MONT. Brother, I go ; I'll win them, fear it not :

* And thus most humbly I do take my leave. [*Exit.*

Enter Sir John and Sir Hugh MORTIMER.

YORK. Sir John, and Sir Hugh Mortimer, mine uncles !

‘ You are come to Sandal in a happy hour ;
The army of the queen mean to besiege us.

SIR JOHN. She shall not need, we'll meet her in the field.

‘ YORK. What, with five thousand men ?

RICH. Ay, with five hundred, father, for a need.
A woman's general ; What should we fear ?

[*A march afar off.*

‘ EDW. I hear their drums ; Let's set our men in order ;

‘ And issue forth, and bid them battle straight.

‘ YORK. Five men to twenty! ³ — though the odds be great,

‘ I doubt not, uncle, of our victory.

‘ Many a battle have I won in France,

‘ When as the enemy hath been ten to one ;

‘ Why should I not now have the like success ?

[*Alarum. Exeunt.*

³ *Five men to twenty! &c.] Thus, in the old play:*

York. Indeed many brave battles have I won
In Normandy, whereas the enemy,
Hath been ten to one, and why should I now
Doubt of the like success. I am resolv'd.
Come, let us go.

Edw. Let us march away. I hear their drums.

MALONE.



Painted by Northcole R.A.

Engraved in Lorrach to J.B. Mehel by H. Partout

SHAKSPEARE

*Third Part of
King Henry the Sixth.*

*Clif. How now! is he dead already? Or, is it fear,
That makes him close his eyes? I'll open them.*

*Tutor Ah, Clifford! murder not this innocent child,
Lest thou be hated both of God and man.*

ACT I. SCENE III.

*A Field of Battle, betwixt Sandal Castle and
Wakefield.
Rutland and his Tutor, Clifford and Soldiers.*

SCENE III.

*Plains near Sandal Castle.**Alarums. Excursions. Enter RUTLAND, and his Tutor.⁴*

‘ RUT. Ah, whither shall I fly, to ’scape their hands! ⁵

Ah, tutor! look, where bloody Clifford comes!

Enter CLIFFORD, and Soldiers.

CLIF. Chaplain, away! thy priesthood saves thy life.

As for the brat of this accursed duke,

Whose father ⁶ slew my father, — he shall die.

TUT. And I, my lord, will bear him company.

CLIF. Soldiers, away with him.

‘ TUT. Ah, Clifford! murder not this innocent child,

‘ Lest thou be hated both of God and man.

[*Exit, forced off by Soldiers.*

CLIF. How now! is he dead already? Or, is it fear,

That makes him close his eyes? — I’ll open them.

⁴ — his Tutor.] A priest called Sir Robert Aspall. *Hall: Henry VI. fol. 99. RITSON.*

⁵ Ah, whither &c.] This scene in the old play opens with these lines:

Tutor. Oh, fly my lord, let’s leave the castle,

And fly to Wakefield straight. MALONE.

⁶ Whose father —] i. e. the father of which brat, namely the duke of York. MALONE.

⁷ — is he dead already? Or, is it fear,

That makes him close his eyes?] This circumstance is taken from

‘ RUT. So looks the pent-up lion⁸ o’er the wretch
 ‘ That trembles under his devouring paws:
 And so he walks, insulting o’er his prey;
 ‘ And so he comes, to rend his limbs afunder. —
 ‘ Ah, gentle Clifford, kill me with thy sword,
 And not with such a cruel threat’ning look.
 Sweet Clifford, hear me speak before I die; —
 I am too mean a subject for thy wrath,
 Be thou reveng’d on men, and let me live.

CLIF. In vain thou speak’st, poor boy; my father’s blood
 Hath stopp’d the passage where thy words should enter.

RUT. Then let my father’s blood open it again;
 He is a man, and, Clifford, cope with him.

CLIF. Had I thy brethren here, their lives, and thine,
 Were not revenge sufficient for me:
 No, if I digg’d up thy forefathers’ graves,
 And hung their rotten coffins up in chains,
 It could not flake mine ire, nor ease my heart.

Hall: “ Whilst this battail was in fighting, a prieste called Sir Robbert Aspell, chappellaine and schole-master to the yong erle of Rutlande, ii sonne to the above named duke of Yorke, scarce of the age of xii yeres, a faire gentleman and a maydenlike person, perceyving that flight was more safe-gard than tarrying, bothe for hym and his master, secretly conveyd therle out of the felde, by the lord Cliffordes bande, toward the towne: but or he could entre into a house, he was by the sayd lord Clifford espied, followed, and taken, and by reason of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yong gentleman dismayed, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees, imploring mercy, and desiring grace, both with holding up his handes, and making dolorous countenance, *for his speache was gone for feare.*” MALONE.

⁸ *So looks the pent-up lion —*] That is, The lion that hath been long confined without food, and is let out to devour a man condemned. JOHNSON.

The fight of any of the house of York
Is as a fury to torment my soul;⁹

‘ And till I root out their accursed line,

‘ And leave not one alive, I live in hell.

Therefore — [*Lifting his hand.*]

RUT. O, let me pray before I take my death:
To thee I pray; Sweet Clifford, pity me!

CLIF. Such pity as my rapier’s point affords.

‘ RUT. I never did thee harm; Why wilt thou
flay me?

CLIF. Thy father hath.

RUT. But ’twas ere I was born.⁴

Thou hast one son, for his sake pity me;

Lest, in revenge thereof, — sith³ God is just, —

He be as miserably slain as I.

Ah, let me live in prison all my days;

And when I give occasion of offence,

Then let me die, for now thou hast no cause.

CLIF. No cause?

Thy father slew my father; therefore, die.

[CLIFFORD *stabs him.*]

⁹ *The fight of any of the house of York*

Is as a fury &c.] In *Romeo and Juliet* the same idea is expressed in humbler language: “A dog of the house of Montague moves me.” STEEVENS.

² *But ’twas ere I was born.*] Rutland is under a mistake. The battle of St. Albans, in which old Clifford was slain, happened in 1455; that of Wakefield in 1460. He appears to have been at this time above seventeen years old. RITSON.

The author of the original play appears to have been as incorrect in his chronology as Shakspeare. Rutland was born, I believe, in 1443; according to Hall in 1448; and Clifford’s father was killed at the battle of St. Albans, in 1455. Consequently Rutland was then at least seven years old; more probably twelve. The same observation has been made by an anonymous writer. MALONE.

— *sith* —] i. e. since. So, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*:
“— *sith* you yourself know how easy it is to be such an offender.”

STEEVENS.

RUT. *Dii faciant, laudis summa sit ista tuæ!*⁹

[*Dies.*

CLIF. Plantagenet! I come, Plantagenet!
And this thy son's blood, cleaving to my blade,
Shall rust upon my weapon, till thy blood,
Congeal'd with this, do make me wipe off both.
[*Exit.*

S C E N E IV.

The same.

Alarum. Enter YORK.

YORK. The army of the queen hath got the field:

‘ My uncles both are slain in rescuing me;²
‘ And all my followers to the eager foe
‘ Turn back, and fly, like ships before the wind,
‘ Or lambs pursu'd by hunger-starved wolves.
‘ My sons — God knows, what hath bechanced them:

But this I know, — they have demean'd themselves
Like men born to renown, by life, or death.

‘ Three times did Richard make a lane to me;
And thrice cry'd, — *Courage, father! fight it out!*
‘ And full as oft came Edward to my side,
With purple faulchion, painted to the hilt
‘ In blood of those³ that had encounter'd him:

⁹ *Dii faciant, &c.*] This line is in Ovid's *Epistle from Phillis to Demophoon*. I find the same quotation in *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up*, &c. 1596, STEEVENS.

² *My uncles both are slain in rescuing me;*] These were two bastard uncles by the mother's side, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer. See Grafton's *Chronicle*, p. 649. PERCY.

³ *With purple faulchion, painted to the hilt.*

In blood of those —] So, in *King Henry V*:

“ With pennons painted in the blood of Harfleur. ”

STEEVENS.

- ' And when the hardiest warriors did retire,
 ' Richard cry'd,—*Charge! and give no foot of ground!*
 ' And cry'd—*A crown, or else a glorious tomb!*
 ' *A scepter, or an earthly sepulchre!*
 With this, we charg'd again: but, out, alas!
 ' We bodg'd again;⁴ as I have seen a swan
 ' With bootless labour swim against the tide,
 ' And spend her strength with over-matching
 waves. [*A short alarum within.*]
 ' Ah, hark! the fatal followers do pursue;
 ' And I am faint, and cannot fly their fury:
 ' And, were I strong, I would not shun their fury:
 ' The sands are number'd, that make up my life;
 ' Here must I stay, and here my life must end.

Enter Queen MARGARET, CLIFFORD, NORTHUMBERLAND, and Soldiers.

- ' Come, bloody Clifford, —rough Northumberland,—
 ' I dare your quenchless fury to more rage;
 ' I am your butt, and I abide your shot.
 NORTH. Yield to our mercy, proud Plantagenet.

⁴ *We bodg'd again;*] I find *bodgery* used by Nashe in his *Apologie of Pierce Penniless*, 1593, for *botchery*, “Do you know your own misbegotten *bodgery*?” To *bodge* might therefore mean, (as to *botch* does now) to do a thing imperfectly and awkwardly, and thence to *fail* or *miscarry* in an attempt. Cole in his *Latin Dictionary*, 1679, renders—“To botch or bungle, *opus corrumpere, disperdere.*”

I suspect, however, with Dr. Johnson, that we should read—*We budg'd again.* “To *budge*” Cole renders, *pedem referre*, to retreat: the precise sense required here. So Coriolanus, speaking of his army who had *fled* from their adversaries:

“The mouse ne'er shunn'd the cat, as they did *budge*
 “From rascals worse than they.” MALONE.

I believe that—*we bodg'd* only means, *we made bad or bungling work of our attempt to rally.* A low unskilful tailor is often called a *botcher*. STEEVENS.

CLIF. Ay, to such mercy, as his ruthless arm,
With downright payment, shew'd unto my father.
Now Phaeton hath tumbled from his car,
And made an evening at the noontide prick.⁵

YORK. My ashes, as the phoenix, may bring forth
‘ A bird that will revenge upon you all :

‘ And, in that hope, I throw mine eyes to heaven,
Scorning whate’er you can afflict me with.

‘ Why come you not? what! multitudes, and fear?

CLIF. So cowards fight, when they can fly no
further;

‘ So doves do peck the faulcon’s piercing talons ;
So desperate thieves, all hopeless of their lives,
Breathe out invectives ’gainst the officers.

YORK. O, Clifford, but bethink thee once again,

‘ And in thy thought o’er-run my former time :

* And, if thou canst for blushing, view this face:
And bite thy tongue, that flanders him with cow-
ardice,

‘ Whose frown hath made thee faint and fly ere this.

CLIF. I will not bandy with thee word for word ;
But buckle with thee blows, twice two for one.

[*Draws.*

Q. MAR. Hold, valiant Clifford! for a thousand
causes,

I would prolong a while the traitor’s life:—
Wrath makes him deaf: speak thou, Northumber-
land.

NORTH. Hold, Clifford; do not honour him so
much,

To prick thy finger, though to wound his heart :

⁵ —noontide prick.] Or, noontide point on the dial.

The same phrase occurs in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II. sc. iv.

JOHNSON.

STEEVENS.

What valour were it, when a cur doth grin,
 For one to thrust his hand between his teeth,
 When he might spurn him with his foot away?
 It is war's prize⁶ to take all 'vantages;
 ' And ten to one is no impeach of valour.

[*They lay hands on YORK, who struggles.*

CLIF. Ay, ay, so strives the woodcock with the
 gin.

NORTH. So doth the coney struggle in the net.

[*YORK is taken prisoner.*

YORK. So triumph thieves upon their conquer'd
 booty;

So true men yield,⁷ with robbers so o'er-match'd.

NORTH. What would your grace have done unto
 him now?

Q. MAR. Brave warriors, Clifford, and Northum-
 berland,

Come make him stand upon this molehill here;

' That raught⁸ at mountains with out-stretched
 arms,

Yet parted but the shadow with his hand.—

⁶ *It is war's prize* —] Read—*praise*. WARBURTON.

I think the old reading right, which means, that all 'vantages
 are in war lawful prize; that is, may be lawfully taken and used.

JOHNSON.

To take all advantages, is rather to the discredit than to the
 praise of war, and therefore Warburton's amendment cannot be
 right; nor can I approve of Johnson's explanation; — it appears
 to me that it is *war's prize*, means merely that it is the estimation
 of people at war; the settled opinion. M. MASON.

— *dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?* VIRG.

MALONE.

⁷ *So true men yield,*] A true man has been already explained to
 be an honest man, as opposed to a thief. See Vol. VI. p. 151, n. 5.

MALONE.

⁸ *That raught* —] i. e. That *reach'd*. The ancient preterite
 and participle passive of *reach*. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

"The hand of death has *raught* him." STEEVENS.

* What! was it you, that would be England's king?
 Was't you, that revell'd in our parliament,
 And made a preachment of your high descent?
 Where are your mefs of fons, to back you now?
 The wanton Edward, and the lufly George?
 ' And where's that valiant crook-back prodigy,
 Dicky your boy, that, with his grumbling voice,
 Was wont to cheer his dad in mutinies?
 Or, with the reft, where is your darling Rutland?
 Look, York; I ftain'd this napkin⁹ with the blood
 That valiant Clifford, with his rapier's point,
 Made iffue from the bofom of the boy:
 And, if thine eyes can water for his death,
 I give thee this to dry thy cheeks withal.
 ' Alas, poor York! but that I hate thee deadly,
 I fhould lament thy miserable ftate.
 I pr'ythee, grieve, to make me merry, York;
 Stamp, rave, and fret, that I may fing and dance.²
 What, hath thy fiery heart fo parch'd thine entrails,
 That not a tear can fall for Rutland's death?
 * Why art thou patient, man? thou fhould'ft be mad;
 * And I, to make thee mad, do mock thee thus.
 Thou would'ft be fee'd, I fee, to make me fport;
 York cannot fpeak, unlefs he wear a crown.—
 A crown for York;—and, lords, bow low to him.—
 Hold you his hands, whilft I do fet it on.—

[*Putting a paper crown on his head.*³

⁹ ——— *this napkin* —] A *napkin* is a handkerchief. JOHNSON.
 So, in *As you like it*: "To that youth he calls his Rosalind, he
 fends this bloody *napkin*." STEEVENS.

² *Stamp, rave, and fret, &c.*] I have placed this line as it ftands
 in the old play. In the folio it is introduced, I believe, by the
 careleffnefs of the tranfcriber, fome lines lower, after the words—
 "do mock thee thus;" where it appears to me out of its place.

MALONE.

³ *Putting a paper crown on his head.*] Shakspeare has on this oc-

Ay, marry, fir, now looks he like a king!

Ay, this is he that took king Henry's chair;

caſion deviated from hiſtory, if ſuch of our *English Chronicles* as I have occaſionally looked into, may be believed. According to theſe, the paper crown was not placed on the duke of York's head till after it had been cut off. Rutland likewiſe was not killed by Clifford, till after his father's death. STEEVENS.

The ingenious commentator is moſt certainly miſtaken. Shakspeare, ſo far from having deviated from hiſtory, has followed it with the utmoſt preciſion. *Whethamſtede* expreſſly tells us, that the Lancaſtrians, in direſt breach of a mutual agreement, and before the day appointed for the battle, fell ſuddenly upon the duke's army, and took him and the earl of Salisbury priſoners; treating both, but eſpecially the duke, in the moſt ſhameful manner. *Nam, ſays he, ſtatuentes eum ſuper unum parvum formicarium colliculum, & quoddam ſertum vile, ex paluſtri gramine conſectum, imponentes, per modum coronæ, ſuper caput ſuum, non aliter quam Judæi coram domino incurvaverunt genua ſua coram ipſo, dicentes illuſorie: Ave rex, ſine regimine; ave rex, abſque hereditate; ave dux & princeps, abſque omni populo penitus & poſſeſſione. Ex his una cum aliis variis, in eum probroſe opprobrioſeque dictis, coegerunt ipſum demum per capitis abſciſſionem clameum relinquere ſuæ juſtitiæ vendicationis.* p. 489. Not a ſingle circumſtance is omitted, or varied in the ſcene. It is not, however, imagined that Shakspeare had ever conſulted *Whethamſtede*: he found the ſame ſtory no doubt in ſome old black letter chronicle, which it has not been the writer's fortune to meet with, or he might poſſibly have it from a popular tradition. RITSON.

According to Hall the paper crown was not placed on York's head till after he was dead; but Holinſhed after giving Hall's narration of this buſineſs almoſt *verbatim*, adds, — “Some write, that the duke was taken alive, and in deriſion cauſed to ſtand upon a *mole-hill*, on whoſe heade they put a garland inſtead of a crowne, which they had faſhioned and made of ſegges or bulruſhes, and having ſo crowned him with that garlande, they kneeled downe afore him, as the Jewes did to Chriſte in ſcorne, ſaying to him, haile king without rule, haile king without heritage, haile duke and prince without people or poſſeſſions. And at length having thus ſcorned him with theſe and dyverſe other the like deſpitefull woordes, they ſtroke off his heade, which (as yee have heard) they preſented to the queen.”

Both the chroniclers ſay, that the earl of Rutland was killed by Clifford *during* the battle of Wakefield; but it may be preſumed that his father had firſt fallen. The earl's tutor probably attempted to ſave him as ſoon as the rout began. MALONE.

And this is he was his adopted heir.—
 But how is it, that great Plantagenet
 Is crown'd so soon, and broke his solemn oath?
 As I bethink me, you should not be king,
 Till our king Henry had shook hands with death.²
 And will you pale² your head in Henry's glory,
 And rob his temples of the diadem,
 Now in his life, against your holy oath?
 O, 'tis a fault too too unpardonable!—
 Off with the crown; and, with the crown, his head;
 And whilst we breathe, take time to do him dead.³

CLIF. That is my office, for my father's sake.

Q. MAR. Nay, stay; let's hear the orisons he makes.

YORK. She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves
 of France,

' Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth!
 How ill-beseeming is it in thy sex,
 To triumph, like an Amazonian trull,
 ' Upon their woes,⁴ whom fortune captivates?
 But that thy face is, visor-like, unchanging,
 Made impudent with use of evil deeds,
 I would assay, proud queen, to make thee blush:
 To tell thee whence thou cam'st, of whom deriv'd,
 Were shame enough to shame thee, wert thou not
 shameless.

² *Till our king Henry had shook hands with death.*] On York's return from Ireland, at a meeting of parliament it was settled, that Henry should enjoy the throne during his life, and that York should succeed him. See Hall, Henry VI. fol. 98. MALONE.

² *And will you pale—*] i. e. impale, encircle with a crown.

MALONE.

So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

“ Whate'er the ocean pales, or sky inclips.” STEEVENS.

³ *— to do him dead.*] To kill him. See Vol. VI. p. 371, n. 4.

MALONE.

See this play, p. 49, n. 7. STEEVENS.

⁴ *Upon their woes,*] So, the folio. The quarto reads—*Upon his woes.* STEEVENS.

Thy father bears the type⁵ of king of Naples,
 Of both the Sicils, and Jerufalem ;
 Yet not fo wealthy as an Englifh yeoman.
 Hath that poor monarch taught thee to infult ?
 It needs not, nor it boots thee not, proud queen ;
 Unless the adage muft be verify'd,—
 That beggars, mounted, run their horfe to death.
 'Tis beauty, that doth oft make women proud ;
 But, God he knows, thy fhare thereof is fmall :
 'Tis, virtue, that doth make them moft admir'd ;
 The contrary doth make thee wonder'd at :
 'Tis government, that makes them feem divine ;⁶
 The want thereof makes thee abominable :
 Thou art as oppofite to every good,
 As the Antipodes are unto us,
 Or as the fouth to the feptentrion.⁷
 O, tiger's heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide !⁸
 How could'ft thou drain the life-blood of the child,
 To bid the father wipe his eyes withal,
 And yet befeen to bear a woman's face ?
 Women are foft, mild, pitiful, and flexible ;
 ' Thou ftern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorselefs.
 ' Bid'ft thou me rage ? why, now thou haft thy wifh :⁹

⁵ — the type —] i. e. the diftinguifhing mark ; an obfolete ufe of the word. So again, in *King Richard III* :

“ The high imperial *type* of this earth's glory.” STEEVENS.

⁶ 'Tis government, that makes them feem divine ;] Government, in the language of that time, fignified evennefs of temper, and decency of manners. JOHNSON.

So, in *King Henry IV*. P. I. Falftaff fays—

“ Let men fay, we be men of good government.” STEEVENS.

⁷ — feptentrion.] i. e. the North. *Septentrio*, Lat. Milton uſes the ſame word as an adjective :

“ — cold *feptentrion* blafts.” STEEVENS.

⁸ O, tiger's heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide !] We find almoſt the ſame line in *Acolafius his Afterwitte*, 1600 :

“ O woolviſh heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide !” MALONE.

⁹ — thy wifh : &c.] So, the folio. The quarto reads—thy will in the firſt line, and thy wifh in the ſecond. STEEVENS.

‘ Would’st have me weep? why, now thou hast thy will:

‘ For raging wind blows up incessant showers,⁸

And, when the rage allays, the rain begins.⁹

These tears are my sweet Rutland’s obsequies;

‘ And every drop cries vengeance for his death,²—.

‘ ’Gainst thee, fell Clifford,—and thee, false French-woman.

NORTH. Beshrew me, but his passions move me so,
That hardly can I check my eyes from tears.

YORK. That face of his the hungry cannibals
Would not have touch’d, would not have stain’d
with blood:³

⁸ *For raging wind blows up incessant showers,*] Thus the folio.
The quartos read:

For raging winds blow up a storm of tears. STEEVENS.

⁹ *Would’st have me weep? why, now thou hast thy will:*

For raging wind blows up incessant showers,

*And, when the rage allays, the rain begins.] We meet with
the same thought in our author’s Rape of Lucrece:*

“ This windy tempest, till it blows up rain,

“ Held back his sorrow’s tide, to make it more;

“ At last it rains, and busy winds give o’er.

“ Then son and father weep with equal strife,

“ Who should weep most for daughter or for wife.”

Again, in *Macbeth*:

“ ———that tears shall drown the wind.”

Again, in *Troilus and Cressida*:

“ Where are my tears? rain, rain, to lay this wind.”

Again, in *King John*:

“ This shower, blown up by tempest of the soul,—.”

MALONE.

² *And every drop cries vengeance for his death,*] So, the folio.
The quarto thus:

And every drop begs vengeance as it falls,

On thee, &c. STEEVENS.

³ ——— *would not have stain’d with blood:]* Thus the first folio.
STEEVENS.

——— *would not have stain’d the roses just with blood:]* So, the
second folio nonsensically reads the passage; but the old quarto, &c.
of better authority, have it thus:

That face of his the hungry cannibals

Would not have touch’d, would not have stain’d with blood.

But you are more inhuman, more inexorable,—
 O, ten times more,—than tygers of Hyrcania.⁴
 See, ruthless queen, a hapless father's tears:
 This cloth thou dipp'dst in blood of my sweet boy,
 And I with tears do wash the blood away.
 Keep thou the napkin, and go boast of this:
 [*He gives back the handkerchief.*
 And, if thou tell'st the heavy story right,
 Upon my soul, the hearers will shed tears;
 Yea, even my foes will shed fast-falling tears,
 And say,—Alas, it was a piteous deed!—
 There, take the crown, and, with the crown, my
 curse;⁵
 And, in thy need, such comfort come to thee,
 As now I reap at thy too cruel hand!—
 Hard-hearted Clifford, take me from the world;

And this is sense. Could any one now have believed that an editor of common understanding should reject this, and fasten upon the nonsense of the later edition, only because it afforded matter of conjecture? and yet Mr. Theobald will needs correct, *roses just with blood*, to *roses juic'd with blood*, that is change one blundering editor's nonsense for another's. But if there ever was any meaning in the line, it was thus expressed:

Would not have stain'd the roses just in bud.

And this the Oxford editor hath espoused. WARBURTON.

As, without correction, the words—*the roses just*, do not make good sense, there is very little reason to suspect their being interpolated, and therefore it is most probable they were preserved among the players by memory. The correction is this;

That face of his the hungry cannibals

Would not have touch'd:

Would not have stain'd the roses just i'th' bloom.

The words [*the roses just*] were, I suppose, left out by the first editors, in order to get rid of the superfluous hemistich. MUSGRAVE.

⁴ ——— of Hyrcania.] So, the folio. The quartos read—of *Arcadia*. STEEVENS.

⁵ *There, take the crown, and, with the crown, my curse;*] Rowe has transferred this execration to his dying Hengist in *The Royal Convert*:

“ ——— wear my crown;

“ Take it, and be as curs'd with it as I was.” STEEVENS.

My soul to heaven, my blood upon your heads!

NORTH. Had he been slaughter-man to all my kin,

‘ I should not for my life but weep with him,
To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul.⁵

Q. MAR. What, weeping-ripe, my lord Northumberland?

Think but upon the wrong he did us all,
And that will quickly dry thy melting tears.

CLIF. Here’s for my oath, here’s for my father’s death. [*stabbing him.*]

Q. MAR. And here’s to right our gentle-hearted king.⁶ [*stabbing him.*]

YORK. Open thy gate of mercy, gracious God!
‘ My soul flies through these wounds to seek out thee. [*Dies.*]

Q. MAR. Off with his head, and set it on York gates;

So York may overlook the town of York.⁷ [*Exeunt.*]

⁵ *I should not for my life but weep with him,
To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul.*] So, the folio. The quartos as follows:

*I could not choose but weep with him, to see
How inward anger gripes his heart.* STEEVENS.

⁶ *And here’s to right our gentle-hearted king.*] Thus the folio. The quarto thus:

And there’s to right our gentle-hearted kind.

Of these variations there are many, but it is useless labour to enumerate them all. STEEVENS.

⁷ *So York may overlook &c.*] This gallant nobleman fell by his own imprudence, in consequence of leading an army of only five thousand men to engage with twenty thousand, and not waiting for the arrival of his son the earl of March, with a large body of Welchmen. He and Cicely his wife, with his son Edmond earl of Rutland, were originally buried in the chancel of Foderingay church; and (as Peacham informs us in his *Complete Gentleman*, 4to. 1627,) “when the chancel in that furie of knocking churches and sacred monuments in the head, was also felled to the ground,” they were

A C T II. S C E N E I.

A Plain near Mortimer's cross in Herefordshire.

Drums. Enter EDWARD, and RICHARD, with their forces, marching.

- * EDW. I wonder, how our princely father
'scap'd;
- * Or whether he be 'scap'd away, or no,
- * From Clifford's and Northumberland's pursuit;
- * Had he been ta'en, we should have heard the
news;
- * Had he been slain, we should have heard the
news?
- * Or, had he 'scap'd, methinks, we should have
heard
- * The happy tidings of his good escape.—
- * How fares my brother? ⁸ why is he so sad?

removed into the churchyard; and afterwards “lapped in lead they were buried in the church by the commandment of Queen Elizabeth; and a mean monument of plaister wrought with the trowel erected over them, very homely, and far unfitting so noble princes.”

“I remember, (adds the same writer,) Master Creuse, a gentleman and my worthy friend, who dwelt in the college at the same time, told me, that their coffins being opened, their bodies appeared very plainly to be discerned, and withall that the dutchess Cicely had about her necke, hanging in a filke ribband, a pardon from Rome, which, penned in a very fine Roman hand, was as faire and fresh to be read, as it had been written yesterday.” This *pardon* was probably a dispensation which the duke procured, from the oath of allegiance that he had sworn to Henry in St. Paul's church on the 10th of March, 1452. MALONE.

* *How fares my brother?*] This scene, in the old quartos, begins thus:

RICH. I cannot joy, until I be resolv'd
Where our right valiant father is become.

' I saw him in the battle range about;
' And watch'd him, how he singled Clifford forth.
' Methought, he bore him⁹ in the thickest troop,
As doth a lion in a herd of neat:

* Or as a bear, encompass'd round with dogs;
* Who having pinch'd a few, and made them cry,
* The rest stand all aloof, and bark at him.

* So far'd our father with his enemies;
' So fled his enemies my warlike father;
' Methinks, 'tis prize enough to be his son.²

See how the morning opes her golden gates,
And takes her farewell of the glorious sun!³

* How well resembles it the prime of youth,
* Trimm'd like a younker, prancing to his love?

" After this dangerous fight and hapless war,
" How doth my noble brother Richard fare?"

Had the author taken the trouble to revise his play, he hardly would have begun the first act and the second with almost the same exclamation, express'd in almost the same words. Warwick opens the scene with——

" I wonder, how the king escap'd our hands." STEEVENS.

⁹ *Methought, he bore him——*] i. e. he demeaned himself. So, in *Measure for Measure*:

" How I may formally in person bear me——." MALONE.

² *Methinks, 'tis prize enough to be his son.*] The old quarto reads—*pride*, which is right, for *ambition*, i. e. We need not aim at any higher glory than this. WARBURTON.

I believe *prize* is the right word. Richard's sense is, though we have missed the *prize* for which we fought, we have yet an honour left that may content us. JOHNSON.

Prize, if it be the true reading, I believe here means *privilege*. So, in the former act:

" It is war's *prize* to take all 'vantages?" MALONE.

³ *And takes her farewell of the glorious sun!*] Aurora takes for a time her farewell of the sun, when she dismisses him to his diurnal course. JOHNSON.

EDW. Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns?⁴

RICH. Three glorious suns, each one a perfect
- sun;

Not separated with the racking clouds,⁵

But sever'd in a pale clear-shining sky.

See, see! they join, embrace, and seem to kiss,

As if they vow'd some league inviolable:

Now are they but one lamp, one light, one sun.

In this the heaven figures some event.

* EDW. 'Tis wondrous strange, the like yet never
heard of.

I think, it cites us, brother, to the field;

That we, the sons of brave Plantagenet,

' Each one already blazing by our meeds,⁶

⁴ — *do I see three suns?*] This circumstance is mentioned both by Hall and Holinshed: " — — at which tyme the *son* (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like *three sunnes*, and sodainely joyned altogether in one, uppon whiche sight hee tooke such courage, that he fiercely setting on his enemyes put them to flight; and for this cause menne ymagined that he gave 'the sun in his full bryghtnesse for his badge or cognisance." These are the words of Holinshed. MALONE.

⁵ — *the racking clouds,*] i. e. the clouds in rapid, tumultuary motion. So, in *The Raigne of King Edward III.* 1596:

" — — like inconstant clouds

" That, *rack'd* upon the carriage of the winds,

" Encrease" &c. STEEVENS.

Again, in our author's 32d Sonnet:

" Anon permit the basest *clouds* to ride

" With ugly *rack* on his celestial face." MALONE.

⁶ — *blazing by our meeds,*] Illustrious and shining by the armorial ensign granted us as *meeds* of our great exploits. *Meed* likewise is *Merit*. It might be plausibly read:

— *blazing by our deeds.* JOHNSON.

Johnson's first explanation of this passage is not right. *Meed* here means *merit*.

So, in the fourth act, the king says:

" My *meed* hath got me fame."

And in *Timon of Athens* the word is used in the same sense:

" — — No *meed* but he repays

" Sevenfold above itself." M. MASON.

Should, notwithstanding, join our lights together,
 ‘ And over-shine the earth, as this the world.
 ‘ Whate’er it bodes, henceforward will I bear
 Upon my target three fair shining suns.

* RICH. Nay, bear three daughters ;—by your
 leave I speak it,

* You love the breeder better than the male.

Enter a Messenger.

‘ But what art thou, whose heavy looks foretel
 ‘ Some dreadful story hanging on thy tongue?

MES. Ah, one that was a woful looker on.
 When as the noble duke of York was slain,

* Your princely father, and my loving lord.

‘ EDW. O, speak no more! ⁷ for I have heard too
 much. ⁸

‘ RICH. Say how he died, for I will hear it all.

‘ MES. Environed he was with many foes ;⁹

⁷ *O, speak no more!*] The generous tenderness of Edward, and
 savage fortitude of Richard, are well distinguished by their different
 reception of their father’s death. JOHNSON.

⁸ ———for I have heard too much.] So, the folio. The quartos
 thus :

“ ———for I can hear no more.

“ *Rich.* Tell on thy tale,” &c. STEEVENS.

⁹ *Environed he was with many foes ;*] Thus, in the old play :

“ Oh, one that was a woeful looker on,

“ When as the noble duke of York was slain.—

“ When as the noble duke was put to flight,

“ And then pursu’d by Clifford and the queene,

“ And many soldiers moe, who all at once

“ Let drive at him, and forst the duke to yield ;

“ And then they set him on a moul-hill there,

“ And crown’d the gracious duke in high despight :

“ Who then with tears began to wail his fall.

“ The ruthlesse queene perceiving he did weepe,

* And stood against them, as the hope of Troy²
 * Against the Greeks, that would have enter'd Troy.
 * But Hercules himself must yield to odds;
 * And many strokes, though with a little axe,
 * Hew down and fell the hardest-timber'd oak.
 ' By many hands your father was subdu'd;
 ' But only slaughter'd by the ireful arm
 ' Of unrelenting Clifford, and the queen:
 ' Who crown'd the gracious duke, in high despight;
 ' Laugh'd in his face; and, when with grief he wept,
 ' The ruthless queen gave him, to dry his cheeks,
 ' A napkin steeped in the harmless blood
 ' Offsweet young Rutland, by rough Clifford slain:
 ' And after many scorns, many foul taunts,
 ' They took his head, and on the gates of York
 ' They set the same; and there it doth remain,
 ' The saddest spectacle that e'er I view'd.

EDW. Sweet duke of York, our prop to lean
 upon;

' Now thou art gone, we have no staff, no stay!—
 * O Clifford, boist'rous Clifford, thou hast slain
 * The flower of Europe for his chivalry;
 * And treacherously hast thou vanquish'd him,
 * For, hand to hand, he would have vanquish'd
 thee!—

Now my soul's palace is become a prison:

' Ah, would she break from hence! that this my
 body

" Gave him a handkerchief to wipe his eyes,
 " Dipt in the blood of sweete young Rutland, by
 " Rough Clifford slaine; who weeping tooke it up:
 " Then through his brest they thrust their bloudie swords.
 " Who like a lambe fell at the butcher's feate.
 " Then on the gates of Yorke they set his head,
 " And there it doth remaine the piteous spectacle
 " That ere mine eyes beheld." MALONE.

² — the hope of Troy —] Hector. MALONE.

- ‘ Might in the ground be closed up in rest :
- ‘ For never henceforth shall I joy again,
- ‘ Never, O never, shall I see more joy.

‘ RICH. I cannot weep ; for all my body’s moisture

Scarce serves to quench my furnace-burning heart :

* Nor can my tongue unload my heart’s great burden ;

* For self-same wind, that I should speak withal,

* Is kindling coals, that fire all my breast,

* And burn me up with flames,² that tears would quench.

* To weep, is to make less the depth of grief :³

* Tears, then, for babes ; blows, and revenge, for me !—

‘ Richard, I bear thy name, I’ll venge thy death,

‘ Or die renowned by attempting it.

EDW. His name that valiant duke hath left with thee ;

His dukedom and his chair with me is left.⁴

RICH. Nay, If thou be that princely eagle’s bird,
Show thy descent by gazing ‘gainst the sun :⁵

² *And burn me up with flames, &c.*] So, in *King John* :

“ France, I am burn’d up with consuming wrath,” &c.

STEEVENS.

³ *To weep, &c.*] Here, in the original play, instead of these two lines, we have—

“ I cannot joy, till this white rose be dy’d

“ Even in the heart-bloud of the house of Lancaster.”

MALONE.

⁴ *His dukedom and his chair with me is left.*] So, the folio. The quarto thus :

His chair, and dukedom, that remains for me. STEEVENS.

⁵ *Show thy descent by gazing ‘gainst the sun :*] So, in Spenser’s *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty* :

“ ——— like the native brood of eagle’s kind,

“ On that bright sun of glory fix thine eyes.”

For chair and dukedom, throne and kingdom say;
 Either that is thine, or else thou wert not his.

*March. Enter WARWICK and MONTAGUE, with
 forces.*⁶

WAR. How now, fair lords? What fare? what
 news abroad?

RICH. Great lord of Warwick, if we should re-
 count

Our baleful news, and, at each word's deliverance,
 Stab poniards in our flesh, till all were told,
 The words would add more anguish than the wounds.
 O valiant lord, the duke of York is slain.

EDW. O Warwick! Warwick! that Plantagenet,
 Which held thee dearly, as his soul's redemption,
 Is by the stern lord Clifford done to death.⁷

Again, in *Solyman and Perseda*, 1599:

"As air-bred eagles, if they once perceive
 "That any of their brood but close their sight,
 "When they should gaze against the glorious sun;
 "They straitway seize upon him with their talons,
 "That on the earth it may untimely die,
 "For looking but askew at heaven's bright eye."

STEEVENS.

⁶ *Enter Warwick &c.] This meeting was at Chipping-Norton.
 W. Worcester, p. 488. RITSON.*

⁷ *Is by the stern lord Clifford done to death.] Done to death for
 killed, was a common expression long before Shakspeare's time.
 Thus Chaucer:*

"And seide, that if ye *done* us both to *dien*." GRAY.

Spenser mentions a plague "*which many did to dye*." JOHNSON.
Faire mourir, a French phrase. So, in *The Battle of Alcazar*,

1594:

"We understand that he was *done to death*."

Again, *ibid*:

"—— *done to death* with many a mortal wound."

Again, in *Orlando Furioso*, 1599:

"I am the man that *did the* *slave to death*." STEEVENS.

WAR. Ten days ago I drown'd these news in tears:

And now, to add more measure to your woes,
I come to tell you things since then befall'n.
After the bloody fray at Wakefield fought,
Where your brave father breath'd his latest gasp,
Tidings, as swiftly as the posts could run,
Were brought me of your loss, and his depart.
I then in London, keeper of the king,
Must'rd my soldiers, gather'd flocks of friends,
And very well appointed, as I thought,⁸
March'd towards saint Alban's to intercept the
queen,
Bearing the king in my behalf along:
For by my scouts I was advertis'd,
That she was coming with a full intent
To dash our late decree in parliament,
' Touching king Henry's oath, and your succession.
Short tale to make,—we at saint Alban's met,
Our battles join'd, and both sides fiercely fought:
But, whether 'twas the coldness of the king,
Who look'd full gently on his warlike queen,
That robb'd my soldiers of their hated spleen;
Or whether 'twas report of her success;
Or more than common fear of Clifford's rigour,
' Who thunders to his captives⁹—blood and death,
I cannot judge: but, to conclude with truth,
Their weapons like to lightning came and went;
Our soldiers'—like the night-owl's lazy flight,²

⁸ *And very well &c.*] This necessary line I have restored from the old quartos. STEEVENS.

⁹ ——— *to his captives*—] So the folio. The old play reads—*captaines*. MALONE.

² ——— *like the night-owl's lazy flight,*] This image is not very congruous to the subject, nor was it necessary to the comparison, which is happily enough completed by the thresher. JOHNSON.

‘ Or like a lazy thresher with a flail,³ —
 Fell gently down, as if they struck their friends.
 I cheer’d them up with justice of our cause,
 With promise of high pay, and great rewards:
 But all in vain; they had no heart to fight,
 And we, in them, no hope to win the day,
 So that we fled; the king, unto the queen;
 Lord George your brother, Norfolk, and myself,
 In haste, post-haste, are come to join with you;
 For in the marches here, we heard, you were,
 Making another head to fight again.

‘ EDW.⁴ Where is the duke of Norfolk, gentle
 Warwick?

Dr. Johnson objects to this comparison as incongruous to the subject; but I think, unjustly. Warwick compares the languid blows of his soldiers, to the lazy strokes which the wings of the owl give to the air in its flight, which is remarkably slow.

M. MASON.

³ *Or like a lazy thresher —*] The old play more elegantly reads — *Or like an idle thresher, &c.* MALONE.

⁴ *Edw. &c.*] The exact ages of the duke of York’s children, introduced in the present play, will best prove how far our author has, either intentionally or otherwise, deviated, in this particular, from historical truth.

Edward, earl of March, afterward duke of York, and king of England, his *second* son, was born at Rouen, on Monday the 27th or 28th of April, 1442; Edmund, earl of Rutland, his *third* son, at the same place, on Monday the 17th of May, 1443; George of York, afterward duke of Clarence, his *sixth* son, in Dublin, on Tuesday the 21st of October, 1449; and Richard of York, afterward duke of Gloster, and king of England, his *eighth* son, at Fotheringay, on Monday the 2d of October, 1452. Henry, the *first* son born in 1441, William, the *fourth*, in 1447. John the *fifth*, in 1448, and Thomas the *seventh*, in 1451, died young. He had likewise four daughters. The battle of Wakefield was fought the 29th of December, 1460, when Edward, of course, was in his *nineteenth* year, Rutland in his *eighteenth*, George in his *twelfth*, and Richard in his *ninth*. RITSON.

And when came George from Burgundy to England?

WAR. Some fix miles off the duke is with the foldiers:

And for your brother,—he was lately sent
From your kind aunt, duchefs of Burgundy,

‘ With aid of foldiers to this needful war.⁵

RICH. ’Twas odds, belike, when valiant Warwick
fled:

Oft have I heard his praises in purfuit,
But ne’er, till now, his fcandal of retire.

WAR. Nor now my fcandal, Richard, doft thou
hear:

For thou fhalt know, this ftrong right hand of
mine

Can pluck the diadem from faint Henry’s head,
And wring the awful fcepter from his fift;

Were he as famous and as bold in war,
As he is fam’d for mildnefs, peace, and prayer.

RICH. I know it well, lord Warwick: blame me
not;

’Tis love, I bear thy glories, makes me fpeak.

But, in this troublous time, what’s to be done?

Shall we go throw away our coats of fteel,

⁵ Edw. ——— when came *George from Burgundy to England?*

War. ——— he was lately *sent*

From your kind aunt, duchefs of Burgundy,

With aid of foldiers to this needful war.]

This circumftance is not warranted by hiftory. Clarence and Glofter (as they were afterwards created) were fent into Flanders immediately after the battle of Wakefield, and did not return until their brother Edward got poffeffion of the crown. Befides, Clarence was not now more than twelve years old.

Ifabel, duchefs of Burgundy, whom Shakspeare calls the duke’s aunt, was daughter of John I. king of Portugal, by Philippa of Lancafter, eldeft daughter of John of Gaunt. They were, therefore, no more than third coufins. RITSON.

And wrap our bodies in black mourning gowns,
 Numb'ring our Ave-Maries with our beads?
 Or shall we on the helmets of our foes
 Tell our devotion with revengeful arms?
 If for the last, say—Ay, and to it, lords.

WAR. why, therefore Warwick came to seek
 you out;

And therefore comes my brother Montague.
 Attend me, lords. The proud insulting queen,
 With Clifford, and the haught Northumberland,⁵
 And, of their feather, many more proud birds,
 Have wrought the easy-melting king, like wax.⁶
 He swore consent to your succession,
 His oath enrolled in the parliament;
 And now to London all the crew are gone,
 To frustrate both his oath, and what beside
 May make against the house of Lancaster.
 ' Their power, I think, is thirty thousand strong: ⁷

⁵ ——— haught *Northumberland*,] So, Grafton in his *Chronicle* says, p. 417: "——— the lord Henry Percy, whom the Scottes for his *haut* and valiant courage called sir Henry Hotspurre."

PERCY.

The word is common to many writers. So, in Marlowe's *King Edward II.* 1598:

"This *haught* resolve becomes your majesty."

Again, in Kyd's *Cornelia*, 1594:

"Pompey, that second Mars, whose *haught* renown," &c.

Again, in Lyly's *Woman in the Moon*, 1597:

"Thy mind as *haught* as Jupiter's high thoughts."

STEEVENS.

⁶ ——— the *easy-melting king, like wax.*] So again, in this play, of the *Lady Grey*:

"As red as fire; nay, then her *wax* must melt."

JOHNSON.

⁷ ——— is thirty thousand strong:] Thus the folio. The old play reads:

"Their power, I guess them *fiftie* thousand strong."

A little lower the same piece has—*eight and forty thousand.*

MALONE.

Now, if the help of Norfolk, and myself,
 With all the friends that thou, brave earl of March.
 Amongst the loving Welshmen canst procure,
 ' Will but amount to five and twenty thousand,
 Why, *Via!* to London will we march amain;
 And once again bestride our foaming steeds,
 ' And once again cry—Charge upon our foes!
 But never once again turn back, and fly.

RICH. Ay, now, methinks, I hear great Warwick
 speak:

Ne'er may he live to see a sunshine day,
 ' That cries—Retire, if Warwick bid him stay.

EDW. Lord Warwick, on thy shoulder will I
 lean;

' And when thou fail'st, (as God forbid the hour!)
 Must Edward fall, which peril heaven forefend!

WAR. No longer earl of March, but duke of
 York;

' The next degree is, England's royal throne:
 For king of England shalt thou be proclaim'd
 In every borough as we pass along;

And he, that throws not up his cap for joy,
 ' Shall for the fault make forfeit of his head.

King Edward.—valiant Richard,—Montague,—
 Stay we no longer dreaming of renown,

' But sound the trumpets, and about our task.

* RICH. Then, Clifford, were thy heart as hard
 as steel,

* (As thou hast shown it flinty by thy deeds,)

* I come to pierce it,—or to give thee mine.

* EDW. Then strike up, drums;—God, and saint
 George, for us!

Enter a Messenger.

WAR. How now? what news?

MES. The duke of Norfolk sends you word by me,

The queen is coming with a puissant host;
And craves your company for speedy counsel.

WAR. Why then it sorts,⁸ brave warriors: Let's
away. [*Exeunt.*

S C E N E II.

Before York.

Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, the Prince of Wales, CLIFFORD, and NORTHUMBERLAND, with forces.

Q. MAR. Welcome, my lord, to this brave town
of York.

Yonder's the head of that arch-enemy,
That fought to be encompass'd with your crown:
Doth not the object cheer your heart, my lord?

K. HEN. Ay, as the rocks cheer them that fear
their wreck;—

To see this sight, it irks my very soul.—
Withhold revenge, dear God! 'tis not my fault,
Nor wittingly have I infring'd my vow.

CLIF. My gracious liege, this too much lenity
And harmful pity, must be laid aside.

⁸ *Why then it sorts,*] Why then things are as they should be.

JOHNSON.
So, in Greene's *Card of Fancy*, 1608: "—thy love shall sort
to such happy success as thou thyself dost seek for." STEEVENS.

To whom do lions cast their gentle looks?
 Not to the beast that would usurp their den.
 Whose hand is that, the forest bear doth lick?
 Not his, that spoils her young before her face.
 Who 'scapes the lurking serpent's mortal sting?
 Not he, that sets his foot upon her back.
 The smallest worm will turn, being trodden on;
 And doves will peck, in safeguard⁸ of their brood.
 Ambitious York did level at thy crown,
 Thou smiling, while he knit his angry brows:
 He, but a duke, would have his son a king,
 And raise his issue, like a loving fire;
 Thou, being a king, blest'd with a goodly son,
 Didst yield consent to disinherit him,
 Which argued thee a most unloving father.⁹
 Unreasonable creatures feed their young:
 And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,
 Yet, in protection of their tender ones,
 Who hath not seen them (even with those wings
 Which sometime they have us'd with fearful flight,)
 Make war with him that climb'd unto their nest,
 Offering their own lives in their young's defence?
 For shame, my liege, make them your precedent!
 Were it not pity, that this goodly boy
 Should lose his birthright by his father's fault;
 And long hereafter say unto his child,—
*What my great-grandfather and grandsire got,
 My carelefs father fondly² gave away?*

⁸ — in *safeguard* —] Thus the folio. The quartos read *in rescue*. STEEVENS.

⁹ — unloving father.] The quartos read *unnatural father*.

STEEVENS.

² — fondly —] i. e. foolishly. So, in *King Richard II*:

“ — sorrow and grief of heart

“ Makes him speak *fondly* —.” STEEVENS.

Ah, what a shame were this! Look on the boy;
 And let his manly face, which promiseth
 Successful fortune, steel thy melting heart,
 To hold thine own, and leave thine own with him.

K. HEN. Full well hath Clifford play'd the orator,

Inferring arguments of mighty force.

' But, Clifford, tell me, didst thou never hear,—
 That things ill got had ever bad success? ³

And happy always was it for that son,

Whose father⁴ for his hoarding went to hell?

I'll leave my son my virtuous deeds behind;

And 'would, my father had left me no more!

For all the rest is held at such a rate,

' As brings a thousand-fold more care to keep,

' Than in possession any jot of pleasure. ⁵

Ah, cousin York! 'would thy best friends did know,

' How it doth grieve me that thy head is here!

' Q. MAR. My lord, cheer up your spirits; our
 foes are nigh,

' And this soft courage makes your followers faint.

' You promis'd knighthood to our forward son;

' Unsheath your sword, and dub him presently.—

Edward, kneel down.

K. HEN. Edward Plantagenet, arise a knight;

And learn this lesson,—Draw thy sword in right.

³ ——— didst thou never hear,—

That things ill got had ever bad success? &c.] The proverb quoted by his majesty on this occasion, seems to militate directly against his own argument, and shows that things ill got might have good success. M. MASON.

⁴ *Whose father &c.* Alluding to a common proverb:

Happy the child whose father went to the devil. JOHNSON.

⁵ *Than in possession any jot of pleasure.*] Thus the folio. The quarto thus:

"Than may the present profit countervail." STEEVENS.

PRINCE. My gracious father, by your kingly
leave,
I'll draw it as apparent to the crown,
And in that quarrel use it to the death.

CLIF. Why, that is spoken like a toward prince.

Enter a Messenger.

MES. Royal commanders, be in readiness:
' For, with a band of thirty thousand⁶ men,
Comes Warwick, backing of the duke of York;
And, in the towns as they do march along,
Proclaims him king, and many fly to him:
' Darraign⁷ your battle, for they are at hand.

CLIF. I would, your highness would depart the
field;
The queen⁸ hath best success when you are absent.

⁶ ——— *thirty thousand* —] The quarto reads *fifty thousand*.

STEEVENS.

⁷ *Darraign* —] That is, *Range* your host, put your host in
order. JOHNSON.

Chaucer, Skelton, and Spenser, use this word.

Thus also, in *Guy Earl of Warwick, a Tragical History*, 1661:

" *Darraign* our battles, and begin the fight. "

The quartos read—*Prepare your battles*, &c. STEEVENS.

⁸ *I would, your highness would depart the field;*

The queen &c.] This superstitious belief, relative to the for-
tunes of our unhappy prince, is yet more circumstantially intro-
duced by Drayton in *The Miseries of Queen Margaret*:

" Some think that *Warwick* had not lost the day,

" But that the king into the field he brought;

" For with the worse that side went still away

" Which had king *Henry* with them when they fought;

" Upon his birth so sad a curse there lay,

" As that he never prospered in aught.

" The queen wan two, among the loss of many,

" Her husband absent; present, never any. "

STEEVENS.

Q. MAR. Ay, good my lord, and leave us to our fortune.

K. HEN. Why, that's my fortune too; therefore I'll stay.

NORTH. Be it with resolution then to fight.

PRINCE. My royal father, cheer these noble lords,

And hearten those that fight in your defence:

Unsheath your sword, good father; cry, *Saint George!*

March. Enter EDWARD, GEORGE, RICHARD, WARWICK, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, and Soldiers.

‘ EDW. Now, perjur’d Henry! wilt thou kneel for grace,

‘ And set thy diadem upon my head;

* Or bide the mortal fortune of the field?

Q. MAR. Go rate thy minions, proud insulting boy!

‘ Becomes it thee to be thus bold in terms,

‘ Before thy fovereign, and thy lawful king?

EDW. I am his king, and he should bow his knee;

I was adopted heir by his consent:

Since when, his oath is broke; ⁹ for, as I hear,

So, Hall: “Happy was the queene in her two battayls, but unfortunate was the king in al his enterprises; for where his person was present, the victorie fledde ever from him to the other parte.” Henry VI. fol. C. MALONE.

⁹ *I am his king, and he should bow his knee;*

I was adopted heir by his consent:

Since when, his oath is broke;] Edward’s argument is founded

You—that are king, though he do wear the crown,—
Have caus'd him, by new act of parliament,
' To blot out me, and put his own son in.

' CLIF. And reason too;
Who should succeed the father, but the son?

' RICH. Are you there, butcher?—O, I cannot
speak!

' CLIF. Ay, crook-back; here I stand, to answer
thee,

' Or any he the proudest of thy sort.

RICH. 'Twas you that kill'd young Rutland, was
it not?

CLIF. Ay, and old York, and yet not satisfy'd.

RICH. For God's sake, lords, give signal to the
fight.

WAR. What say'st thou, Henry, wilt thou yield
the crown?

on the following article in the compact entered into by Henry and the duke of York, which the author found in Hall's Chronicle, but which I believe made no part of that agreement: "Provided alwaye, that if the king did closely or apertly studie or go about to breake or alter this agreement, or to compass or imagine the death or destruction of the sayde duke or his bloud, then he *to forget the crowne*, and the duke of Yorke to take it." If this had been one of the articles of the compact, the duke having been killed at Wakefield, his eldest son would have now a title to the crown. MALONE.

Since when, &c.] The quartos give the remainder of this speech to Clarence, and read:

To blot our brother out, &c. STEEVENS.

Here is another variation of the same kind with those which have been noticed in the preceding play, which could not have arisen from a transcriber or printer.—Though Shakspeare gave the whole of this speech to Edward by substituting *me* for *brother*, the same division which is found in the quarto, is inadvertently retained in the folio. MALONE.

‘ Q. MAR. Why, how now, long-tongu’d War-
wick? dare you speak?

When you and I met at saint Alban’s last,
Your legs did better service than your hands.⁴

WAR. Then ’twas my turn to fly, and now ’tis
thine.

CLIF. You said so much before, and yet you
fled.

WAR. ’Twas not your valour, Clifford, drove me
thence.

‘ NORTH. No, nor your manhood, that durst make
you stay.

RICH. Northumberland, I hold thee reverently;—
Break off the parley; for scarce I can refrain
The execution of my big-swoln heart
Upon that Clifford, that cruel child-killer.

CLIF. I slew thy father: Call’st thou him a
child?

RICH. Ay, like a dastard, and a treacherous cow-
ard,

As thou didst kill our tender brother Rutland;
But, ere sun-set, I’ll make thee curse the deed.

‘ K. HEN. Have done with words, my lords, and
hear me speak.

Q. MAR. Defy them then, or else hold close thy
lips.

K. HEN. I pr’ythee, give no limits to my tongue;
I am a king, and privileg’d to speak.

CLIF. My liege, the wound, that bred this meet-
ing here,

⁴ *Your legs did better service than your hands.*] An allusion to the
proverb, “One pair of heels is worth two pair of hands.”

Cannot be cur'd by words; therefore be still.

RICH. Then, executioner, unsheath thy sword:
By him that made us all, I am resolv'd,⁵

' That Clifford's manhood lies upon his tongue.

' EDW. Say, Henry, shall I have my right, or no?
A thousand men have broke their fasts to-day,
That ne'er shall dine, unless thou yield the crown.

WAR. If thou deny, their blood upon thy head;
For York in justice puts his armour on.

' PRINCE. If that be right, which Warwick says
is right,

There is no wrong, but every thing is right.

RICH. Whoever got thee,⁶ there thy mother
stands;

For well I wot, thou hast thy mother's tongue.

Q. MAR. But thou art neither like thy fire, nor
dam;

But like a foul misshapen stigmatick⁷

Mark'd by the destinies to be avoided,

' As venom toads, or lizards' dreadful stings.⁸

⁵ — *I am resolv'd,*] It is my firm persuasion; I am no longer in doubt. JOHNSON.

⁶ Rich. *Whoever got thee, &c.*] In the folio this speech is erroneously assigned to Warwick. The answer shows that it belongs to Richard, to whom it is attributed in the old play. MALONE.

⁷ — *misshapen stigmatick,*] "*A stigmatic,*" says J. Bullokar in his *English Expofitor*, 1616, "is a notorious lewd fellow, which hath been burnt with a hot iron, or beareth other marks about him as a token of his punishment."

The word is likewise used in Drayton's Epistle from *Q. Margaret to W. de la Poole*:

"That foul, ill favour'd, crook-back'd *stigmatic*."

Again, in Drayton's epistle from *King John to Matilda*:

"These for the crook'd, the halt, the *stigmatic*."

STEEVENS.

⁸ — *lizards' dreadful stings.*] Thus the folio. The quartos have this variation:

RICH. Iron of Naples, hid with English gilt,⁹
 Whose father bears the title of a king,
 (As if a channel should be call'd the sea,²)
 'Sham'st thou not, knowing whence thou art ex-
 traught,
 'To let thy tongue detect³ thy base-born heart?

—— or lizards' fainting looks.

This is the second time that Shakspeare has armed the lizard (which in reality has no such defence) with a sting; but great powers seem to have been imputed to its looks. So, in *Noah's Flood*, by Drayton:

"The lizard shuts up his sharp-sighted eyes,
 "Amongst the serpents, and there sadly lies."

STEEVENS.

Shakspeare is here answerable for the introduction of the lizard's sting; but in a preceding passage Vol. XIV. p. 282, the author of the old play has fallen into the same mistake. MALONE.

⁹ —— gilt,] Gilt is a superficial covering of gold.

So, in *King Henry V*:

"Our gayness and our gilt are all besmirch'd." STEEVENS.

² (As if a channel should be call'd the sea,)] A channel, in our author's time, signified what we now call a kennel. So, in Stowe's *Chronicle*, quarto, 1605, p. 1148: "—such a storme of raine happened at London, as the like of long time could not be remembered; where-through, the channels of the citie suddenly rising," &c. Again, in *King Henry IV*. P. II: "—quoit him into the channel." MALONE.

Kennel is still pronounced channel in the North. So, in Marlowe's *Edward II*:

"Throw off his golden mitre, rend his stole,
 "And in the channel christen him anew."

Again,

"Here's channel water, as our charge is given."

Again,

"To which the channels of the castle run." RITSON;

³ To let thy tongue detect —] To show thy meanness of birth by the indecency of language with which thou railest at my deformity. JOHNSON.

To let thy tongue detect thy base-born heart?] So the folio. The quartos:

"To parly thus with England's lawful heirs." STEEVENS.

EDW. A wisp of straw ⁴ were worth a thousand crowns,

⁴ *A wisp of straw*——] I suppose, for an instrument of correction that might disgrace, but not hurt her. JOHNSON.

I believe that a *wisp* signified some instrument of correction used in the time of Shakspeare. The following instance seems to favour the supposition. See *A Woman never Vexed*, a comedy, by Rowley, 1632:

“ Nay, worse;—I’ll stain thy ruff; nay, worse than that,

“ I’ll do thus— [*Holds up a wisp.*”

“ —— dost wisp me thou tatterdemallion?”

Again, in Marston’s *Dutch Courtezan*, 1604:

“ Thou little more than a dwarf, and something less than a woman!

“ Cris. *A wisp! a wisp! a wisp!*”

Barret in his *Alvearie*, or *Quadruple Dictionary*, 1580, interprets the word *wispe* by *peniculus* or *σπογγος*, which signify any thing to wipe or cleanse with; a cook’s linen apron, &c. Pewter is still scoured by a *wispe of straw*, or *hay*. Perhaps Edward means one of these *wisps*, as the denotement of a menial servant. Barrett adds, that, like a *wase*, it signifies “a wreath to be laied under the vessel that is borne upon the head, as women use.” If this be its true sense, the prince may think that such a *wisp* would better become the head of Margaret, than a *crown*.

It appears, however, from the following passage in Thomas Drant’s translation of the seventh satire of *Horace*, 1567, that a *wispe* was the punishment of a scold:

“ So perfyte and exaete a scoulde that women mighte geve place

“ Whose tatling tongues had won a *wispe*,” &c.

STEEVENS.

See also Nashe’s *Apology of Pierce Penniless*, 1593: “Why, thou errant butter-whore, thou cotquean and scratop of *scolds*, wilt thou never leave afflicting a dead carcasse? continually read the rhetorick lecture of Ramme-Alley? a *wispe*, a *wispe*, you kitchen-stuffe wrangler.” Again, in *A Dialogue between John and Jone striving who shall wear the Breeches*, — PLEASURES OF POETRY, bl. 1. no date:

“ Good gentle Jone, with-holde thy hands,

“ This once let me entreat thee,

“ And make me promise, never more

“ That thou shalt mind to beat me;

“ For feare thou weare the *wispe*, good wife,

“ And make our neighbours ride—.” MALONE.

To make this shameless callet know herself.⁵—

* Helen of Greece was fairer far than thou,

* Although thy husband may be Menelaus;⁶

* And ne'er was Agamemnon's brother wrong'd

* By that false woman, as this king by thee.

‘ His father revell'd in the heart of France,

And tam'd the king, and made the Dauphin stoop;

And, had he match'd according to his state,

He might have kept that glory to this day;

But, when he took a beggar to his bed,

And grac'd thy poor fire with his bridal day;

‘ Even then that sunshine brew'd a shower for him,

‘ That wash'd his father's fortunes forth of France,

And heap'd sedition on his crown at home.

‘ For what hath broach'd this tumult,⁷ but thy pride?

Hadst thou been meek, our title still had slept;

⁵ To make this shameless callet know herself.] Shakspeare uses the word *callet* likewise in *The Winter's Tale*, Act II. sc. iii:

“ A callat

“ Of boundless tongue; who late hath beat her husband,

“ And now baits me.”

Callet, a lewd woman, a drab, perhaps so called from the French *calote*, which was a sort of head-dress worn by country girls. See, *Glossary to Urry's Chaucer*. So, in Chaucer's *Remedy of Love*, ver. 307:

“ A cold old knave cuckolde himself wenyng,

“ And of *calot* of lewd demenyng.”

So, Skelton, in his *Elinour Rymming*, Works, p. 133:

“ Then Elinour said, ye *callettes*,

“ I shall break your palettes.”

Again, in Ben Jonson's *Volpone*:

“ Why the *callet* you told me of here,

“ I have tane disguis'd.” GREY.

⁶ Menelaus;] i. e. a cuckold. So, in *Troilus and Cressida*, Therites, speaking of Menelaus, calls him “—the goodly transformation of Jupiter there,—the primitive statue and oblique memorial of cuckolds.” STEEVENS.

⁷ ——— hath broach'd this tumult,] The quarto reads, “ hath mov'd this,” &c. STEEVENS.

And we, in pity of the gentle king,
Had slipp'd our claim until another age.

‘GEO. But, when we saw our sunshine made thy
spring,

‘And that thy summer bred us no increase,’
We set the axe to thy usurping root:

And though the edge hath something hit ourselves,

‘Yet, know thou, since we have begun to strike,

‘We’ll never leave, till we have hewn thee down,
Or bath’d thy growing with our heated bloods.

EDW. And, in this resolution, I defy thee;
Not willing any longer conference,
Since thou deny’st the gentle king to speak.—
Sound trumpets!—let our bloody colours wave!—
And either victory, or else a grave.

Q. MAR. Stay, Edward.

EDW. No, wrangling woman; we’ll no longer
stay:

These words will cost ten thousand lives to day.

[*Exeunt.*]

’ ———we saw our sunshine made thy spring,

And that thy summer bred us no increase,]’ When we saw that
by favouring thee we made thee grow in fortune, but that we re-
ceived no advantage from thy fortune flourishing by our favour, we
then resolved to destroy thee, and determined to try some other
means, though our first efforts have failed. JOHNSON.

The quartos read:

“ But when we saw our summer brought thee gain,

“ And that the harvest brought us no increase.” STEEVENS.

SCENE III.

A field of battle⁸ between Towton and Saxton in Yorkshire.

Alarums. Excursions. Enter WARWICK.

WAR. Forspent with toil,⁹ as runners with a race,
I lay me down a little while to breathe:

⁸ *A field of battle &c.]* We should read near *Towton*. Shakspeare has here, perhaps, intentionally thrown three different actions into one. The lord Fitzwater, being stationed by king Edward, to defend the pass of Ferrybridge, was assaulted by the Lord Clifford, and immediately slain, “and with hym, says Hall, the “bastard of Salisbury, brother to the earl of Warwycke, a valeaunt “yong gentleman, and of great audacitie. When the earl of Warwycke,” adds he, “was informed of this feate, he lyke a man “desperated, mounted on his hackeney, and came blowing to “kyng Edward, saying: Sir, I praye God have mercy of their “soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise hath lost their “lyfes, and because I se no succors of the world, I remit the vengeance and punishment to God our creator and Redeemer; and “with that lighted doune, and slewe his horse with his swourde, “saiyng: let them flye that wyl, for surely I wil tarye with him “that wil tarye with me, and kissed the crosse of his swourde.” Clifford, in his retreat, was beset with a party of Yorkists, when “eyther,” says the historian, “for heat or payne, putting off his “gorget, sodainly with an arrowe (as some say) without an hedde “[he] was striken into the throte, and incontinent rendered his “spirite, and the erle of Westmerlandes brother, and almost all “his company were thare slayn, at a place called Dinting-dale, “not farr fro Towton.” In the afternoon of the next day (Palm Sunday eve 1461) on a plain field between Towton and Saxton, joined the main battles which continued engaged that night, and the greater part of the following day: upwards of 30,000 men, all English (including many of the nobility and the flower of the gentry, especially of the northern parts) being slain on both sides.

For strokes receiv'd, and many blows repaid,
Have robb'd my strong-knit sinews of their strength,
' And, spite of spite, needs must I rest a while.

Enter EDWARD, running.

EDW. Smile, gentle heaven!² or strike, ungentle death!

' For this world frowns, and Edward's fun is cloud-ed.

WAR. How now, my lord? what hap? what hope of good?

Enter GEORGE.

* GEO. Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair;³

' Our ranks are broke, and ruin follows us:

This battle, says Carte, "decided the fate of the house of Lancaster, overturning in one day an usurpation strengthened by sixty-two years continuance, and established Edward on the throne of England." RITSON.

An authentick copy of king Edward's account of this battle, together with a list of the noblemen and knights who were slain in it, may be seen in Sir John Fenn's Collection of *The Paston Letters*, Vol. I. p. 216. &c. HENLEY.

¹ *For spent with toil,*] Thus the folio. The quartos read "*Sore spent,*" &c. STEEVENS.

² *Smile, gentle heaven!* &c.] Thus the folio. Instead of these lines the quartos give the following;

Smile, gentle heavens, or strike, ungentle death,

That we may die unless we gain the day!

What fatal star malignant frowns from heaven

Upon the harmless line of York's true house? STEEVENS.

³ *Our hap is loss,* &c.] Thus the folio. The quartos thus:

Come, brother, come, let's to the field again,

For yet there's hope enough to win the day:

Then let us back to cheer our fainting troops,

Left they retire now we have left the field,

‘ What counsel give you? whither shall we fly?

‘ EDW. Bootless is flight, they follow us with wings;

‘ And weak we are, and cannot shun pursuit.

Enter RICHARD.

‘ RICH. Ah, Warwick, why hast thou withdrawn thyself?

‘ Thy brother’s blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,⁴

War. How now, my lords? what hap? what hope of good?” STEEVENS.

Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair;] Milton seems to have copied this line:

“ — Thus repuls’d, *our final hope*

“ *Is flat despair.*” MALONE.

⁴ *Thy brother’s blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,]* This passage from the variation of the copies, gave me no little perplexity. The old quarto applies this description to the death of Salisbury, Warwick’s father. But this was a notorious deviation from the truth of history. For the earl of Salisbury in the battle at Wakefield, wherein Richard duke of York lost his life, was taken prisoner, beheaded at Pomfret, and his head, together with the duke of York’s, fixed over York gates. Then the only brother of Warwick, introduced in this play, is the marquess of Montacute (or Montague, as he is called by our author): but he does not die till ten years after, in the battle at Barnet; where Warwick likewise was killed. The truth is, the brother here mentioned is no person in the drama, and his death is only an accidental piece of history. Consulting the Chronicles, upon this action at Ferrybridge, I find him to have been a natural son of Salisbury (in that respect a brother to Warwick), and esteemed a valiant young gentleman.

THEOBALD.

Thy brother’s blood &c.] Instead of this speech, which is printed, like almost all the rest of the play, from the folio, the quartos give the following:

Thy noble *father* in the thickest throngs
Cry’d still for Warwick, his thrice valiant son;
Until with thousand swords he was beset,
And many wounds made in his aged breast.

' Broach'd with the steely point of Clifford's lance :
 ' And, in the very pangs of death, he cry'd,—
 ' Like to a dismal clangor heard from far,—
 ' *Warwick, revenge! brother, revenge my death!*
 ' So underneath the belly of their steeds,
 ' That stain'd their fetlocks in his smoking blood,
 ' The noble gentleman gave up the ghost.
 ' WAR. Then let the earth be drunken with our
 blood :

And, as he tottering sat upon his steed,
 He waft his hand to me, and cried aloud,
 Richard, commend me to my valiant son :
 And still he cried, Warwick, revenge my death !
 And with these words he tumbled off his horse ;
 And so the noble Salisbury gave up the ghost. STEEVENS.

It is here only necessary to refer to former notes on similar variations. See Vol. XIV. p. 190, n. 8 ; p. 198, n. 2 ; p. 208, n. 2 ; p. 294, n. 4 ; p. 300, n. 6.

Thy brother's blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,] In this line, of which there is no trace in the original play, Shakspeare had probably the sacred writings in his thoughts : "And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood." GENESIS, iv. 11.

The old play (as Theobald has observed) applies this description to the death of Salisbury, contrary to the truth of history, for that nobleman was taken prisoner at the battle of Wakefield, and afterwards beheaded at Pomfret. But both Hall and Holinshed, in nearly the same words, relate the circumstance on which this speech as exhibited in the *folio*, is founded ; and from the latter our author undoubtedly took it. "The Lord Fitzwalter [who had been stationed to keep the pass of Ferrybridge] hearing the noise, [made by Lord Clifford and a body of lighthorsemen, who attacked by surprize the party stationed at the bridge,] sodainly rose out of his bedde, and unarmed, with a pollax in his hande, thinking that it had bin a fraye amongst his men, came downe to appease the same, but ere he knew what the matter ment, he was slaine, and with him the *bastard* of Salisbury, *brother to the erle of Warwick*, a valiant young gentleman, and of great audacitie." Holinshed, p. 664. In this action at Ferrybridge, which happened on the 28th of March 1461, the day before the great battle of Towton, Lord Clifford was killed. The author of this play has blended the two actions together. MALONE.

I'll kill my horse, because I will not fly.⁵

* Why stand we like soft-hearted women here,

* Wailing our losses, whiles the foe doth rage;

* And look upon,⁶ as if the tragedy

* Were play'd in jest by counterfeiting actors?

‘ Here on my knee I vow to God above,

‘ I'll never pause again, never stand still,

‘ Till either death hath clos'd these eyes of mine,

‘ Or fortune given me measure of revenge.

EDW. O Warwick, I do bend my knee with
thine;

‘ And, in this vow, do chain my soul to thine.⁷—

* And, ere my knee rise from the earth's cold face,

* I throw my hands, mine eyes, my heart to thee,

Thou setter up and plucker down of kings!

‘ Beseeching thee,⁸—if with thy will it stands,

⁵ *I'll kill my horse, &c.*] So, in *The Miseries of Queen Margaret* by Drayton:

“ Resolv'd to win, or bid the world adieu:

“ Which spoke, the earl his sprightly courser slew.”

Again, in *Daniel's Civil Wars*, B. VIII. St. xiii. STEEVENS.

From Hall, *Henry VI.* p. 102. See p. 67, n. 8. STEEVENS.

⁶ *And look upon,*] And are mere spectators. So, in *The Winter's Tale*, where I idly suspected some corruption in the text:

“ And look on alike.” MALONE.

⁷ *And, in this vow, do chain my soul to thine.—*] Thus the folio. The quarto as follows:

“ And in that vow now join my soul to thee. STEEVENS.

⁸ *Beseeching thee.*] That is, beseeching the divine power. Shakespeare in new-forming this speech may seem, at the first view of it, to have made it obscure, by placing this line immediately after,—
“ Thou setter up,” &c.

What I have now observed is founded on a supposition that the words “ *Thou setter up,*” &c. are applied to Warwick, as they appear to be in the old play. However, our author certainly intended do deviate from it, and to apply this description to the deity; and this is another strong confirmation of the observation already made relative to the variations between these pieces and

‘ That to my foes this body must be prey,—
 ‘ Yet that thy brazen gates of heaven may ope,
 ‘ And give sweet passage to my sinful soul!—
 ‘ Now, lords, take leave until we meet again,
 Where-e’er it be, in heaven, or on earth.

‘ RICH. Brother, give me thy hand;—and, gentle
 Warwick,

‘ Let me embrace thee in my weary arms:—
 ‘ I, that did never weep, now melt with woe,
 ‘ That winter should cut off our spring-time so.

‘ WAR. Away, away! Once more, sweet lords,
 farewell.

‘ GEO. Yet let us all together to our troops,
 ‘ And give them leave to fly that will not stay;
 And call them pillars, that will stand to us;
 ‘ And, if we thrive, promise them such rewards
 ‘ As victors wear at the Olympian games:
 * This may plant courage in their quailing⁸ breasts;
 * For yet is hope of life, and victory.—
 * Fore-slow no longer,⁹ make we hence amain.²

[*Exeunt.*

the elder dramas on which they were formed. In the old play the speech runs thus:

Lord Warwick, I do bend my knees with thine,
 And in that vow now join my soul to thee,
 Thou setter-up and puller down of kings:—
 Vouchsafe a gentle victory to us,
 Or let us die before we loose the day!

The last two lines are certainly here addressed to the deity; but the preceding line, notwithstanding the anachronism, seems to be addressed to Warwick. MALONE.

⁸ ——— quailing ———] i. e. sinking into dejection. So, in *Cymbeline*:

“ ——— my false spirits

“ Quail to remember:—” STEEVENS.

⁹ Fore-slow no longer,] To fore-slow is to be dilatory, to loiter,

S C E N E IV.

The same. Another part of the field.

Excursions. Enter RICHARD and CLIFFORD.

‘ RICH. Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone:³
 ‘ Suppose, this arm is for the duke of York,
 ‘ And this for Rutland; both bound to revenge,

So, in *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594:

“ Why, king Sebastian, wilt thou now *foreflow*?”

Again, in Marlowe’s *Edward II.* 1598:

“ *Foreflow* no time; sweet Lancaster, let’s march.”

Again, in *Promos and Cassandra*, 1578:

“ Good knight, for time do not my suit *foreflow*.”

STEEVENS.

² — make we hence amain.] Instead of this and the two preceding speeches, we have in the old play the following;

Geo. Then let us haste to cheare the souldiers’ hearts,
 And call them pillers that will stand to us,
 And highly promise to remunerate
 Their trustie service in these dangerous warres.

Rich. Come, come away, and stand not to debate,
 For yet is hope of fortune good enough.
 Brothers, give me your handes, and let us part,
 And take our leaves untill we meete againe;
 Where ere it be, in heaven or in earth.
 Now I that never wept, now melt in woe,
 To see these dire mishaps continue so.
 Warwick, farewell.

War. Away, away; once more, sweet lords, farewell.
 MALONE.

³ Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone : &c.] Thus the folio.
 The quartos thus:

Now, Clifford, for York and young Rutland’s death,
 This thirsty sword, that longs to drink thy blood,
 Shall lop thy limbs, and slice thy cursed heart,
 For to revenge the murders thou hast made. STEEVENS.

‘ Wert thou environ’d with a brazen wall.³

CLIF. Now, Richard, I am with thee here alone:
This is the hand, that stabb’d thy father York;
And this the hand, that slew thy brother Rutland;
And here’s the heart, that triumphs in their death,
And cheers these hands, that slew thy fire and brother,

To execute the like upon thyself;
And so, have at thee.

[*They fight. Warwick enters; Clifford flies.*

‘ RICH. Nay, Warwick,⁴ single out some other
chace;

‘ For I myself will hunt this wolf to death.

[*Exeunt.*

³ *Wert thou environ’d with a brazen wall.*] So, in the second *Thebaid* of Statius, 453:

“ — non si te ferreus agger

“ Ambiat, —.” STEEVENS.

⁴ *Nay, Warwick, &c.*] We have had two very similar lines in the preceding play, Vol. XIV. p. 364:

“ Hold, Warwick, seek thee out some other chace;

“ For I myself must hunt this deer to death.”

See p. 96, n. 4. MALONE.

SCENE V.

*Another part of the field.**Alarum. Enter king HENRY.*

* K. HEN. This battle fares like to the morning's war,⁵

* When dying clouds contend with growing light;

* *This battle fares like to the morning's war, &c.*] Instead of this interesting speech, the quartos exhibit only the following:

Oh gracious God of heaven, look down on us,
And set some ends to these incessant griefs!
How like a maddens ship upon the seas,
This woeful battle doth continue still,
Now leaning this way, now to that side driven,
And none doth know to whom the day will fall.
Oh, would my death might stay these civil† jars!
Would I had never reign'd, nor ne'er been king!
Margaret and Clifford chide me from the field,
Swearing they had best success when I was thence.
Would God that I were dead, so all were well;
Or, would my crown suffice, I were content
To yield it them, and live a private life!

The leading thought in both these soliloquies is borrowed from Holinshed, p. 665:—"This deadly conflict continued ten hours in doubtful state of victorie, uncertainlie heaving and setting on both sides," &c.

Virgil, however, Æn. Lib. X. v. 354. has a similar comparison.

—— Expellere tendunt
Nunc hi, nunc illi: certatur limine in ipso
Ausoniæ. Magno discordes æthere venti
Prælia ceu tollunt, animis & viribus æquis:
Non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedunt;
Anceps pugna diu; stant obnixa omnia contra, &c.

This simile, however, originates with Homer. STEEVENS.

† The quarto 1600, printed by W. W. reads—*cruel jars*.

- * What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,⁶
 * Can neither call it perfect day, nor night,
 ‘ Now sways it this way, like a mighty sea,
 ‘ Forc’d by the tide to combat with the wind;
 ‘ Now sways it that way, like the self-same sea,
 ‘ Forc’d to retire by fury of the wind:
 ‘ Sometime, the flood prevails; and then, the
 wind;
 ‘ Now, one the better: then, another best;
 ‘ Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast,
 ‘ Yet neither conqueror, nor conquered:
 ‘ So is the equal poise of this fell war.
 * Here on this molehill will I sit me down.
 * To whom God will, there be the victory!
 ‘ For Margaret my queen, and Clifford too,
 ‘ Have chid me from the battle; swearing both,
 ‘ They prosper best of all when I am thence.
 ‘ ‘Would I were dead! if God’s good will were
 so:
 ‘ For what is in this world, but grief and woe?
 * O God! methinks, it were a happy life,⁷
 ‘ To be no better than a homely swain;
 * To sit upon a hill, as I do now,
 * To carve out dials quaintly, point by point,
 * Thereby to see the minutes how they run:

⁶ — the shepherd, blowing of his nails,] So, in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*:

“ When icicles hang by the wall,

“ And Dick the shepherd blows his nail,—.” MALONE.

⁷ — methinks, it were a happy life,] This speech is mournful and soft, exquisitely suited to the character of the king, and makes a pleasing interchange, by affording, amidst the tumult and horror of the battle, an unexpected glimpse of rural innocence and pastoral tranquillity. JOHNSON.

This speech strongly confirms the remark made by Sir Joshua Reynolds on a passage in *Macbeth*, Vol. XI. p. 62, n. 7.

MALONE.

- * How many make the hour full complete,⁸
- * How many hours bring about the day,
- * How many days will finish up the year,
- * How many years a mortal man may live.
- * When this is known, then to divide the times:
- * So many hours must I tend my flock;
- * So many hours must I take my rest;
- * So many hours must I cōtemplate;
- * So many hours must I sport myself;
- * So many days my ewes have been with young;
- * So many weeks ere the poor fools will yeane;⁹
- * So many years² ere I shall sheer the fleece:
- * So minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, and
years,
- * Pass'd over to the end they were created,
- * Would bring white hairs unto a quiet grave.
- * Ah, what a life where this! how sweet! how lovely!

⁸ *Thereby to see the minutes how they run:*

How many make the hour full complete,] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

"Stuff up his lust, as minutes fill up hours." MALONE.

⁹ *—ere the poor fools will yeane;*] *Poor fool,* it has already been observed, is an expression of tenderness, often used by our author. MALONE.

So, in *King Lear*, scene the last:

"And my poor fool is hang'd."

See notes on this passage, Vol. XX. STEEVENS.

² *So many years ere I shall sheer the fleece:*] i. e. the years which must elapse between the time of the yeaning of the ewes, and the lambs arriving to such a state as to admit of being shorn. Mr. Rowe changed *years* to *months*; which was followed by the subsequent editors; and in the next line inserted the word *weeks*, not observing that *hours* is used there, and throughout this speech, as a dissyllable. *Years* is in that line likewise used as a word of two syllables.

MALONE.

This dissyllabical pronunciation will by no means suit the conclusion of a verse, however it may be admitted in other parts of it. I have retained Mr. Rowe's very necessary insertion. STEEVENS.

- * Gives not the hawthorn bush a sweeter shade
- * To shepherds, looking on their silly sheep,
- * Than doth a rich embroider'd canopy
- * To kings, that fear their subjects' treachery?
- * O, yes, it doth; a thousand fold it doth.
- * And to conclude,—the shepherd's homely curds,
- * His cold thin drink out of his leather bottle,
- * His wonted sleep under a fresh tree's shade,
- * All which secure and sweetly he enjoys,
- * Is far beyond a prince's delicates,
- * His viands sparkling in a golden cup,
- * His body couched in a curious bed,
- * When care, mistrust, and treason wait on him.

*Alarum. Enter a Son that has killed his Father,³
dragging in the dead body.*

- SON. Ill blows the wind, that profits no-body.—
 ' This man, whom hand to hand I slew in fight,
 ' May be possessed with some store of crowns :
 * And I, that haply take them from him now,
 * May yet ere night yield both my life and them
 * To some man else, as this dead man doth me.—
 ' Who's this?—O God! it is my father's face,
 ' Whom in this conflict I unwares have kill'd.
 ' O heavy times, begetting such events!
 ' From London by the king was I press'd forth;
 ' My father, being the earl of Warwick's man,
 ' Came on the part of York, press'd by his master;
 ' And I, who at his hands receiv'd my life,
 ' Have by my hands of life bereaved him.—

³ *Enter a Son &c.]* These two horrible incidents are selected to show the innumerable calamities of civil war. JOHNSON.

In the battle of Constantine and Maxentius, by Raphael, the second of these incidents is introduced on a similar occasion.

STEEVENS.

‘ Pardon me, God, I knew not what I did!—

And pardon, father, for I knew not thee!—

* My tears shall wipe away these bloody marks;

* And no more words, till they have flow’d their fill.

‘ K. HEN. O piteous spectacle!⁴ O bloody times!

Whilst lions war, and battle for their dens.

‘ Poor harmless lambs abide their enmity.—

* Weep, wretched man, I’ll aid thee tear for tear;

* And let our hearts, and eyes, like civil war,

* Be blind with tears, and break o’ercharg’d with
grief.⁵

*Enter a Father, who has killed his Son, with the body
in his arms.*

‘ FATH. Thou that so stoutly hast resisted me,

‘ Give me thy gold, if thou hast any gold;

‘ For I have bought it with an hundred blows.—

‘ But let me see:—is this our foeman’s face?

‘ Ah, no, no, no, it is mine only son!—

* Ah, boy, if any life be left in thee,

⁴ *O piteous spectacle! &c.*] In the old play the king does not speak, till both the son and the father have appeared, and spoken, and then the following words are attributed to him, out of which Shakspeare has formed two distinct speeches:

Woe above woe! grief more than common grief!

Whilst lions war, and battle for their dens,

Poor lambs do feel the rigour of their wraths.

The red rose and the white are on his face,

The fatal colours of our striving houses.

Wither one rose, and let the other perish,

For, if you strive, ten thousand lives must perish.

MALONE.

⁵ *And let our hearts, and eyes, like civil war,*

Be blind with tears, and break o’ercharg’d with grief.] The

meaning is here inaccurately expressed. The king intends to say that the state of their *hearts and eyes* shall be like that of the kingdom in a *civil war*, all shall be destroyed by power formed within themselves. JOHNSON.

- * Throw up thine eye; see, see, what showers arise,
 * Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,⁶.
 * Upon thy wounds, that kill mine eye and heart!—
 ‘ O, pity, God, this miserable age!—
 ‘ What stratagems,⁷ how fell, how butcherly,
 ‘ Erroneous, mutinous, and unnatural,
 ‘ This deadly quarrel daily doth beget!—
 ‘ O boy, thy father gave thee life too soon,
 ‘ And hath bereft thee of thy life too late!⁸

⁶ ———what showers arise,

Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,] This image had occurred in the preceding act:

For raging wind blows up incessant showers. STEEVENS.

⁷ What stratagems,] Stratagem seems to stand here only for an event of war, or may intend snares and surprizes. JOHNSON.

Stratagem is used by Shakspeare not merely to express the events and surprizes of war.—The word means in this place some *dreadful event*, as it does also in the second part of Henry IV. where Northumberland says:

“ ———Every minute now

“ Should be the father of some *stratagem*.”

Stratagemma, in Italian, bears the same acceptation which Shakspeare gives to the English word *Stratagem*, in these two passages. *Bernini*, in his *History of Heresies*, says, “ Ma Dio punì la Francia, “ & la Spagna, co’l flagello dei Vandali, per l’Eresia abbracciata, “ & più gravamente punì Roma, prevaricata di nuovo, al culto de “ gl’ idoli, con il sacco che gli diedero. Orosio, che descrisse “ quelle *stratagemme*, paragona Roma a Sodoma, chiamando i Ro- “ mani peccatori.”

It is evident, that in this passage *stratagemme* means *disastrous events*, as *stratagem* does in this place. M. MASON.

“ *Stratageme*. A policie or subtle device in warre, whereby the enemies is often vanquished.” Bullokar’s *English Expositor*, octavo, 1616. Florio in his *Italian Dict.* 1598, defines *Stratagema*, “ a policie, a wile, or wittie shift in warre.” This was undoubtedly its ordinary sense in our author’s time, though then and afterwards it was occasionally used for any subtle device or policy. Here it has unquestionably its ordinary signification. MALONE.

⁸ O boy, thy father gave thee life too soon,] Because had he been born later, he would not now have been of years to engage in this quarrel. WARBURTON.

K. HEN, Woe above woe ! grief more than common grief!

O, that my death would stay these ruthless deeds!—

* O pity, pity, gentle heaven, pity!—

The red rose and the white are on his face,

And hath bereft thee of thy life too late!] i. e. He should have done it by not bringing thee into being, to make both father and son thus miserable. This is the sense, such as it is, of the two lines; however, an indifferent sense was better than none, as it is brought to by the Oxford editor, by reading the lines thus:

O boy! thy father gave thee life too late,

And hath bereft thee of thy life too soon. WARBURTON.

I rather think the meaning of the line, *And hath bereft thee of thy life too soon*, to be this: Thy father exposed thee to danger by giving thee life too soon, and hath bereft thee of life by living himself too long. JOHNSON.

The Oxford editor might have justified the change he made from the authority of the quarto, according to which I would read; explaining the first line thus: *Thy father begot thee at too late a period of his life, and therefore thou wert not old and strong enough to cope with him.* The next line can want no explanation. Mr. Tollet thinks, that by *too late* is meant *too lately*, as in *King Richard III. Act III*:

“*Too late* he died that might have kept that title.”

STEEVENS.

Too late, without doubt, means *too recently*. The memory of thy virtues and thy hapless end is *too recent*, to be thought of without the deepest anguish. The same quaint expression is found in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

“O, quoth Lucretius, I did give that life,

“Which she too early and *too late* hath spill'd.”

Here *late* clearly means *lately*. Again, in this third part of *King Henry VI*:

“Where fame, *late* entering at his heedfull ears.”

In the old play this and the preceding line stand thus:

“Poor boy, thy father gave thee life too *late*,

“And hath bereft thee of thy life too *soon*.” MALONE.

The present reading appears to be far the more eligible. Had the son been younger, he would have been precluded from the levy that brought him into the field; and had the father recognized him before the mortal blow, it would not have been too late to have saved him from death. HENLEY.

The fatal colours of our striving houses:

* The one, his purple blood right well resembles;

* The other, his pale cheeks, methinks, present:

Wither one rose, and let the other flourish!

* If you contend, a thousand lives must wither.⁹

SON. How will my mother, for a father's death,
Take on with me,² and ne'er be satisfy'd?

FATH. How will my wife, for slaughter of my son,
Shed seas of tears, and ne'er be satisfy'd?

* K. HEN. How will the country,³ for these woe-
ful chances,

* Mis-think the king, and not be satisfy'd?

* SON. Was ever son, so ru'd a father's death?

* FATH. Was ever father, so bemoan'd his son?⁴

⁹ *If you contend, a thousand lives must wither,*] Thus the folio
The quartos thus:

"For if you strive, a thousand lives must *perish*."

STEEVENS.

I think the word *with* is more likely to have been inadvertently repeated by the transcriber, than substituted by Shakspeare for the former word. MALONE.

² *Take on with me,*] Be enraged at me. So, in a pamphlet by T. Nashe, 1592: "Some will *take on*, like a madman," &c. See Vol. VIII. p. 108. n. 2. MALONE.

To *take on* is a phrase still in use among the vulgar, and signifies—to *persist in clamorous lamentation*. STEEVENS.

³ *How will the country, &c.*] So, the folio. The quartos thus;
How will the country now *misdeem* their king!

Oh, would my death their minds could satisfy!

To *mis-think* is to think ill, unfavourably. So, in *The Northern Lass*, 1633:

"—— and heaven pardon me what I *mis-thought* every hour of the night!" STEEVENS.

This word, which Shakspeare substituted for *misdeem*, he has again used in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

"Be it known, that we the greatest are *mis-thought*,

"For things that others do." MALONE.

* *Was ever son, so ru'd a father's death?*

Was ever father, so bemoan'd his son?] The variation is here

‘ K. HEN. Was ever king, so griev’d for subjects’
woe ?

‘ Much is your sorrow ; mine, ten times so much.

‘ SON. I’ll bear thee hence,⁵ where I may weep
my fill. *[Exit, with the body.]*

* FATH. These arms of mine shall be thy wind-
ing-sheet ;

* My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre ;

* For from my heart thine image ne’er shall go.

* My sighing breast shall be thy funeral bell ;

* And so obsequious will thy father be,⁶

* Sad for the loss of thee,⁷ having no more,

* As Priam was for all⁸ his valiant sons.

I’ll bear thee hence ! and let them fight that will,
For I have murder’d where I should not kill.

[Exit, with the body.]

‘ K. HEN. Sad-hearted men, much overgone with
care,

• Here sits a king more woful than you are.

worth remarking, for in the old play the corresponding lines are :

Was ever son so rude, his father’s blood to spill ?

Was ever father so unnatural, his son to kill ? MALONE.

⁵ *I’ll bear thee hence, &c.]* Thus the folio. The old play thus :

I’ll bear thee hence from this accursed place,

For woe is to me, to see my father’s face. MALONE.

⁶ *And so obsequious will thy father be,]* *Obsequious* is here care-
ful of obsequies, or of funeral rites. JOHNSON.

In the same sense it is used in *Hamlet* :

“ ——— to do *obsequious* sorrow.” STEEVENS.

⁷ *Sad for the loss of thee,]* The old copy reads—*men* for the loss
&c. Mr. Rowe made the alteration ; but I think we might read :

—— so obsequious will thy father be,

Man, for the loss of thee &c. STEEVENS.

⁸ *As Priam was for all ———]* I having but one son, will grieve
as much for that one, as Priam, who had many, could grieve for
many. JOHNSON.

*Alarums. Excursions. Enter Queen MARGARET,
Prince of Wales, and EXETER.*

- PRINCE. Fly, father, fly! for all your friends
are fled,
• And Warwick rages like a chafed bull:
• Away! for death doth hold us in pursuit.
• Q. MAR. Mount you, mylord, towards Ber-
wick post amain:
• Edward and Richard, like a brace of greyhounds
• Having the fearful flying hare in sight,
• With fiery eyes, sparkling for very wrath,
• And bloody steel grasp'd in their ireful hands,
• Are at our backs; and therefore hence amain.
EXE. Away! for vengeance comes along with
them:
• Nay, stay not to expostulate, make speed;
Or else come after, I'll away before.
• K. HEN. Nay, take me with thee, good sweet
Exeter;
• Not that I fear to stay, but love to go
• Whither the queen intends. Forward; away!
[*Exeunt.*

S C E N E VI.

*The same.**A loud alarum. Enter CLIFFORD, wounded.*¹

CLIF. Here burns my candle out, ay, here it
dies,

Which, while it lasted, gave king Henry light.

O, Lancaster! I fear thy overthrow,

More than my body's parting with my soul.

My love, and fear, glew'd many friends to thee;

' And, now I fall, thy tough commixtures melt.²

Impairing Henry, strength'ning mis-proud York,

The common people swarm like summer flies:³

And whither fly the gnats, but to the sun?

And who shines now, but Henry's enemies?

¹ *Enter Clifford, wounded,*] The quarto adds, *with an arrow in his neck.* In ridicule of this, Beaumont and Fletcher have introduced *Ralph*, the grocer's prentice, in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, with a forked arrow through his head. It appears, however, from Holinshed, p. 664, that this circumstance has some relation to the truth: "The lord Clifford, either for heat or pain, putting off his gorget suddenlie, with an arrow (as some saie) without a head, was striken into the *throte*, and immediately rendered his spirit." STEEVENS.

² ——— *thy tough commixtures melt.*] Perhaps better, *the tough commixture.* JOHNSON.

The quartos read—" *that tough commixture melts.*" STEEVENS.

³ *The common people swarm like summer flies:*] This line, which is not in the folio, was recovered from the old play by Mr. Theobald. The context shows, that like a line in the second part of *King Henry VI.* it was omitted by the negligence of the transcriber or compositor. MALONE.

O Phœbus! hadst thou never given consent⁴
 That Phaeton should check thy fiery steeds,
 Thy burning car never had scorch'd the earth:
 And, Henry, hadst thou sway'd as kings should do,
 Or as thy father, and his father, did,
 Giving no ground unto the house of York,
 * They never then had sprung like summer flies;
 ' I, and ten thousand in this luckless realm,
 Had left no mourning widows for our death,
 And thou this day hadst kept thy chair in peace.
 For what doth cherish weeds, but gentle air?
 ' And what makes robbers bold, but too much len-
 nity?

Bootless are complaints, and cureless are my wounds;
 ' No way to fly, nor strength to hold out flight:⁵
 The foe is merciless, and will not pity;
 For, at their hands, I have deserv'd no pity.
 ' The air hath got into my deadly wounds,
 And much effuse of blood doth make me faint:—
 Come, York, and Richard, Warwick, and the rest;
 ' I stabb'd your fathers' bosoms! split my breast.⁶
 [*He faints.*

⁴ *O Phœbus! hadst thou never given consent —*] The duke of York had been entrusted by Henry with the reins of government both in Ireland and France: and hence perhaps was taught to aspire to the throne. MALONE.

⁵ *No way to fly, nor strength to hold out flight:*] This line is clear and proper as it is now read; yet perhaps an opposition of images was meant, and Clifford said:

No way to fly, nor strength to hold out fight. JOHNSON.

The sense of the original reading is—No way to fly, nor with strength sufficient left to sustain myself in flight, if there were.

STEEVENS.

⁶ *I stabb'd your fathers' bosoms, split my breast.*] So the folio. The quartos read:

“ I stabb'd your father's, now come split my breast.”

STEEVENS.

Alarum and retreat. Enter EDWARD, GEORGE, RICHARD, MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Soldiers.

‘ EDW. Now breathe we, lords ;⁷ good fortune
bids us pause,
‘ And smooth the frowns of war⁸ with peaceful
looks.—

* Some troops pursue the bloody-minded queen ;—
‘ That led calm Henry, though he were a king,
‘ As doth a sail, fill’d with a fretting gust,
‘ Command an argosy to stem the waves.
‘ But think you, lords, that Clifford fled with them ?

WAR. No, ’tis impossible he should escape:
For, though before his face I speak the words,
Your brother Richard mark’d him for the grave :⁹
‘ And, wheresoe’er he is, he’s surely dead.

[CLIFFORD groans, and dies,

⁷ *Now breathe we, lords ;*] Instead of this speech, the quartos have the following:

Thus for our fortunes keep an upward course,
And we are grac’d with wreaths of victory.
Some troops pursue the bloody-minded queen,
That now towards Berwick doth post amain :——
But think you that Clifford is fled away with them ?

STEEVENS.

This battle, in which the house of York was victorious, was fought on a plain between Towton and Saxton, on the 29th of March, (Palm Sunday) 1461. The royal army consisted, according to Hall, of about forty thousand men; and the young duke of York’s forces were 48, 760. In this combat, which lasted fourteen hours, and in the actions of the two following days, thirty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-six persons are said to have been killed; the greater part of whom were undoubtedly Lancastrians. MALONE.

⁸ *And smooth the frowns of war—*] So, in *King Richard III* :
“ Grim-visag’d war hath smooth’d his wrinkled front.”

STEEVENS.

⁹ ——— *mark’d him for the grave:*] Young has transferred this expression to Alonzo in *The Revenge*:

“ This only marks my body for the grave.” STEEVENS.

EDW. Whose soul⁸ is that which takes her heavy leave?

RICH. A deadly groan, like life and death's departing.⁹

EDW. See who it is: and, now the battle's ended, If friend, or foe, let him be gentle us'd..

‘ RICH. Revoke that doom of mercy, for 'tis Clifford;

‘ Who not contented that he lopp'd the branch
‘ In hewing Rutland when his leaves put forth,²
‘ But set his murdering knife unto the root

⁸ Edw. *Whose soul &c.*] I have distinguished this and the two following speeches according to the authority of the quarto. The folio gave all to Richard, except the last line and half. STEEVENS.

I have also followed the original regulation, because it seems absurd that Richard should first say to his brother, or to one of the foldiers, “ See who it is;”—and then, himself declare that it is Clifford; and therefore I suppose the variation in the folio arose, not from Shakspeare, but from some negligence or inaccuracy of a compositor or transcriber. MALONE.

⁹ ——— *like life and death's departing.*] Sir Thomas Hanmer reads, *like life in death departing*; which Dr. Warburton has received. JOHNSON.

The quartos read, *like life and death's departure.* STEEVENS.

—— *like life and death's departing.*] Departing for *separation.* MALONE.

There is no occasion for correction. “ ‘Till death us depart” was the expression in the old *Marriage Service.* FARMER.

² *In hewing Rutland when his leaves put forth,*] It is manifest from this and many other passages, that the author of the old play, where the corresponding line stands thus—

“ Who killed our tender brother Rutland—”

imagined that Rutland was younger than George and Richard; whereas he was in fact older than them both, being the duke of York's second son; in consequence of which he bore a title by courtesy: and a particular stipulation was made in the compact entered into between Henry and the duke of York, that Rutland, as well as his elder brother Edward earl of March, should swear to the due observance of the agreement. Shakspeare has, we see, fallen into the same error; as have Habington in his nervous and elegant *History of Edward IV.* and several other historians. MALONE.

‘ From whence that tender spray did sweetly spring,
 ‘ I mean, our princely father, duke of York.

WAR. From off the gates of York fetch down
 the head,

Your father’s head, which Clifford placed there:

‘ Instead whereof, let this supply the room;

Measure for measure must be answered.

EDW. Bring forth that fatal scritch-owl to our
 house,

‘ That nothing sung but death to us and ours:³

‘ Now death shall stop his dismal threatening sound,

‘ And his ill-boding tongue no more shall speak.

[*Attendants bring the body forward.*]

WAR. I think his understanding is bereft:—

Speak, Clifford, dost thou know who speaks to
 thee?—

Dark cloudy death o’ershades his beams of life,

And he nor sees, nor hears us what we say.

RICH. O, ’would he did! and so, perhaps, he
 doth;

‘ ’Tis but his policy to counterfeit,

‘ Because he would avoid such bitter taunts

‘ Which in the time of death he gave our father.

GEO. If so thou think’st, vex him with eager
 words.⁴

RICH. Clifford, ask mercy, and obtain no grace.

EDW. Clifford, repent in bootless penitence.

WAR. Clifford, devise excuses for thy faults.

GEO. While we devise fell tortures for thy faults.

³ — *scritch-owl to our house,*

That nothing sung but death &c.] So, in *King Richard III*:

“ Out on you, owls! nothing but songs of death?” STEEVENS.

⁴ — *eager words.*] Sour words; words of asperity. JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*:

“ It is a nipping and an *eager* air.” STEEVENS.

‘ RICH. Thou didst love York, and I am son to York.

EDW. Thou pitied'st Rutland, I will pity thee.

GEO. Where's captain Margaret, to fence you now?

WAR. They mock thee, Clifford! swear as thou wast wont.

‘ RICH. What, not an oath? nay, then the world goes hard,

‘ When Clifford cannot spare his friends an oath:—

I know by that, he's dead; And, by my soul,

‘ If this right hand would buy two hours' life,

That I in all despite might rail at him,

‘ This hand should chop it off; and with the issuing blood

Stifle the villain, whose unstaunched thirst

York and young Rutland could not satisfy.

WAR. Ay, but he's dead: Off with the traitor's head,

And rear it in the place your father's stands.—

And now to London with triumphant march,

There to be crowned England's royal king.

‘ From whence shall Warwick cut the sea to France,
And ask the lady Bona for thy queen:

So shalt thou sinew both these lands together;

‘ And, having France thy friend, thou shalt not dread

The scatter'd foe, that hopes to rise again;

For though they cannot greatly sting to hurt,

Yet look to have them buz, to offend thine ears.

First, will I see the coronation;

‘ And then to Britany I'll cross the sea,³

³ *And then to Britany I'll cross the sea,*] Thus the folio. The quartos thus:

And afterward I'll cross the seas to France. STEEVENS.

To effect this marriage, so it please my lord.

EDW. Even as thou wilt, sweet Warwick, let it be:

- * For on thy shoulder do I build my feat;
- * And never will I undertake the thing,
- * Wherein thy counsel and consent is wanting.—
- ‘ Richard, I will create thee duke of Gloster;—
- ‘ And George, of Clarence;—Warwick, as ourself,
- ‘ Shall do, and undo, as him pleaseth best.

RICH. Let me be duke of Clarence; George, of Gloster;

For Gloster’s dukedom is too ominous.⁴

WAR. Tut, that’s a foolish observation;
Richard, be duke of Gloster: Now to London,
To see these honours in possession. [Exeunt.]

⁴ ——— *too ominous.*] Alluding, perhaps, to the deaths of Thomas of Woodstock, and Humphrey, dukes of Gloster. STEEVENS.

The author of the original play, in which this line is found, probably had here a passage in Hall’s *Chronicle* in his thoughts: “It seemeth to many men that the name and title of Gloucester hath bene unfortunate and unluckie to diverse, whiche for their honor have bene erected by creation of princes to that stile and dignitie; as Hugh Spencer, Thomas of Woodstocke, son to kynge Edward the thirde, and this duke Humphrey, [who was killed at Bury;] whiche three persons by miserable death finished their daies; and after them king Richard the iii. also duke of Gloucester, in civil warre was slaine and confounded; so that this name of Gloucester is taken for an unhappie and unfortunate stile, as the proverbe speaketh of Sejanus horse, whose ryder was ever unhorsed, and whose possessor was ever brought to miserie.” MALONE.

A C T III. S C E N E I.

A Chace in the North of England.

Enter two Keepers,² with cross-bows in their hands.

' 1. KEEP. Under this thick-grown brake³ we'll
shroud ourselves;

* — — *two Keepers,*] In the folio, instead of *two keepers*, we have, through negligence, the names of the persons who represented these characters; *Sinklo*, and *Humphrey*. See Vol. IX. p. 216, n. 9.

MALONE.

Dr. Grey observes from Hall and Holinshed, that the name of the person who took *King Henry*, was *Cantlowe*. See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note on the first scene in *The Taming of a Shrew*.

I learn also from one of the Paston Letters, Vol. I. p. 249, that *Giles Senellowe* was among the persons then in Scotland with the queen. STEEVENS.

One *Giles Santlowe*, esquire, is among those attainted by king Edward's first parliament, and may possibly be here meant, but no person of that name seems to have been any way concerned in the capture of the late king; who, according to W. Wyrcester, was actually taken in *Lancashire*, by two knights named *John Talbots* and *Richard Tunstall*, — July, 1464. Drummond of Hawthornden observes, it was recorded "that a son of *Sir Edward Talbots* apprehended him as he sat at dinner at *Wadding-town-hall*; and like a common malefactor, with his legs under the horse's belly, guarded him toward London." It is a more certain fact, which I have from records in the Duchy Office, that king Edward granted to *Sir James Harrington* a rent-charge of one hundred pounds out of his lordship of Rowland in *Lancashire*, in recompence of his great and laborious diligence about the capture and detention of the king's great traitor, rebel and enemy, lately called *Henry the sixth*, made by the said James; and likewise annuities to *Richard Talbot*, *Thomas Talbot*, esquires, — *Talbot*, and — *Livesey*, for their services in

‘ For through this laund⁴ anon the deer will come;
 ‘ And in the covert will we make our stand,
 ‘ Culling the principal of all the deer.

* 2. KEEP. I’ll stay above the hill, so both may shoot.

* 1. KEEP. That cannot be; the noise of thy cross-bows⁵

* Will scare the herd, and so my shoot is lost.
 * Here stand we both, and aim we at the best:
 * And, for the time shall not seem tedious,
 * I’ll tell thee what befell me on a day,
 * In this self-place where now we mean to stand.

the same capture. See also Rymer’s *Fœdera*, xi. 548. Henry had been for some time harboured by James Maychell of Crakenthorpe, Westmoreland. *Ib.* 575. It seems clear, however, that the present scene is to be placed near the Scottish border. The king himself says :

“ From Scotland am I stoln, even of pure love ;”

And Hall (and Holinshed after him) tells us “ He was no sooner entered [into England], but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king.” RITSON.

³ — brake —] A *brake* anciently signified a *thicket*. So, in *A Midsummer-Night’s Dream*: “ This green plot shall be our stage, this hawthorn *brake* our tiring house.” Again: “ Enter into that *brake*, and so every one according to his cue.” See the latter part of a note on *Measure for Measure*, Vol. VI. p. 46. STEEVENS.

⁴ — this laund —] *Laund* means the same as *lawn*; a plain extended between woods.

So, in the old play of *Orlando Furioso*, 1594:

“ And that they trace the shady *lawnds*,” &c.

Again:

“ Tread she these *lawnds*, kind Flora boasts her pride.”

STEEVENS.

⁵ — the noise of thy cross-bow —] The poet appears not to have forgot the secrets of his former profession.

So, in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1608:

“ — Did I not hear a *bow* go off, and the buck bray ?”

STEEVENS.

‘ 2. KEEP. Here comes a man, let’s stay till he
be past. ⁶

Enter King HENRY, disguised, with a prayer-book.

K. HEN. From Scotland am I stol’n, even of pure
love,

‘ To greet mine own land with my wishful sight. ⁷

‘ No, Harry, Harry, ’tis no land of thine;

* Thy place is fill’d, thy scepter wrung from thee,

* Thy balm wash’d off, ⁸ wherewith thou wast a-
nointed:

No bending knee will call thee Cæsar now,

‘ No humble suitors press to speak for right,

* No, not a man comes for redress of thee;

For how can I help them, and not myself?

‘ 1. KEEP. Ay, here’s a deer whose lkin’s a keeper’s
fee:

‘ This is the *quondam* king; ⁹ let’s seize upon him.

⁶ ——— *let’s stay ’till he be past.*] So the folio. The quartos read:
—— let’s listen him a while. STEEVENS.

⁷ *To greet mine own land with my wishful sight.*] So, the folio.
The quartos perhaps better thus:

And thus disguis’d to greet my native land. STEEVENS.

⁸ *Thy balm wash’d off,*] This is an image very frequent in the
works of Shakspeare. So, again, in this scene:

I was anointed king.

It is common in these plays to find the same images, whether
jocular or serious, frequently recurring. JOHNSON.

So, in *King Richard II*:

“ Not all the water in the rough rude sea

“ Can wash the balm from an anointed king.”

It is observable that this line is one of those additions to the ori-
ginal play, which are found in the folio, and not in the quarto.

MALONE.

⁹ *This is the quondam king; &c.*] Thus the folio. The quartos
thus:

* K. HEN. Let me embrace these four adversities ;²
 * For wise men say, it is the wisest course.

* 2. KEEP. Why linger we ? let us lay hands upon him.

* 1. KEEP. Forbear a while ; we'll hear a little more.

* K. HEN. My queen, and son, are gone to France for aid ;

And, as I hear, the great commanding Warwick
 ' Is thither gone, to crave the French king's sister
 ' To wife for Edward : If this news be true,
 ' Poor queen, and son, your labour is but lost :
 ' For Warwick is a subtle orator,
 ' And Lewis a prince soon won with moving words.
 ' By this account, then, Margaret may win him ;
 ' For she's a woman to be pity'd much :
 * Her sighs will make a battery in his breast ;
 * Her tears will pierce into a marble heart ;

Ay, marry, sir, here's a deer ; his skin is a
 Keeper's fee. Sirrah stand close ; for as I think,
 This is the king, king Edward hath depos'd. STEEVENS.

Quondam had not in Shakspeare's time uniformly acquired a
 ludicrous sense. " Make them *quondams* (says *Latimer* in one of his
 " sermons) out with them, cast them out of their office. " And in
 another place. " He will have every man a *quondam*, as he is. As
 " for my *quondamship* I thank God that he gave me the grace to
 " come by it, by so honest a means as I did ; I thanke him for
 " myne owne *quondamship*, and as for them I will not haue them
 " made *quondams*, if they discharge their office. I would haue them
 " doe their duety. I would haue no more *quondams*, as God help
 " me. " fol. 53.

Again, in *Warner's Albion's England*, B. V. ch. 28. 1602 :

" Not knights alone, but prelates too, and queenes whereof
 were twain,

" The *quondam* & *in esse* queens"—. HOLT WHITE.

² ——— *these four adversities* ;] The old copy reads—the *four*
adversaries. STEEVENS.

Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

- * The tiger will be mild, while she doth mourn;²
- * And Nero will³ be tainted with remorse,
- * To hear, and see, her plaints, her brinish tears.
- * Ay, but she's come to beg; Warwick, to give:
- She, on his left side, craving aid for Henry;
- He, on his right, asking a wife for Edward.
- She weeps, and says—her Henry is depos'd;
- He smiles, and says—his Edward is install'd;
- * That she, poor wretch, for grief can speak no
more:
- * Whiles Warwick tells his title, smooths the wrong,
- * Inferreth arguments of mighty strength;⁴
- * And, in conclusion, wins the king from her,
- * With promise of his sister, and what else,
- * To strengthen and support king Edward's place.
- * O Margaret,⁵ thus 'twill be; and thou, poor soul,
- * Art then forsaken, as thou went'st forlorn.

2. KEEP. Say, what art thou, that talk'st of kings
and queens?

‘ K. HEN. More than I seem, and less than I was
born to:⁶

² *The tiger will be mild, while she doth mourn;*] So, in *Othello*:
“—She will sing the savageness out of a bear.” STEEVENS.

³ *And Nero will*——] Perhaps we might better read—*A Nero will*——. STEEVENS.

⁴ *Inferreth arguments of mighty strength;*] In the former act was the same line:

“Inferring arguments of mighty force.” JOHNSON.

This repetition, like many others in these two plays, seems to have arisen from Shakspeare's first copying his original as it lay before him, and afterwards, in subsequent passages (added to the old matter) introducing expressions which had struck him in preceding scenes. In the old play the line occurs but once. MALONE.

⁵ *O Margaret, &c.*] The piety of Henry scarce interests us more for his misfortunes, than this his constant solicitude for the welfare of his deceitful queen. STEEVENS.

⁶ —— *less than I was born to:*] Thus the folio. The quarto thus: —— for less I should not be. STEEVENS.

' A man at least, for less I should not be;⁷
And men may talk of kings, and why not I?

' 2. KEEP. Ay, but thou talk'st as if thou wert a king.

' K. HEN. Why, so I am, in mind;⁸ and that's enough.⁹

2. KEEP. But, if thou be a king, where is thy crown?

K. HEN. My crown is in my heart, not on my head;

* Not deck'd with diamonds, and Indian stones,

* Nor to be seen: 'my crown is call'd, content;

' A crown it is, that seldom kings enjoy.

' 2. KEEP. Well, if you be a king crown'd with content,

Your crown content, and you, must be contented

• To go along with us: for, as we think,

' You are the king, king Edward hath depos'd;

' And we his subjects, sworn in all allegiance,²

' Will apprehend you as his enemy.

* K. HEN. But did you never swear, and break an oath?

⁷ *for less I should not be;*] Such is the reading of the folio. The quartos thus, — and more I cannot be. STEEVENS.

⁸ — but thou talk'st as if thou wert a king.

K. Hen. Why, so I am, in mind;] There seems to be an allusion to a line in an old song, (quoted in *Every Man out of his Humour*):

"My mind to me a kingdom is." MALONE.

See Dr. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3d edit. Vol. I. p. 293. STEEVENS.

⁹ — and that's enough.] So, the folio. The quartos thus:

— though not in show. STEEVENS.

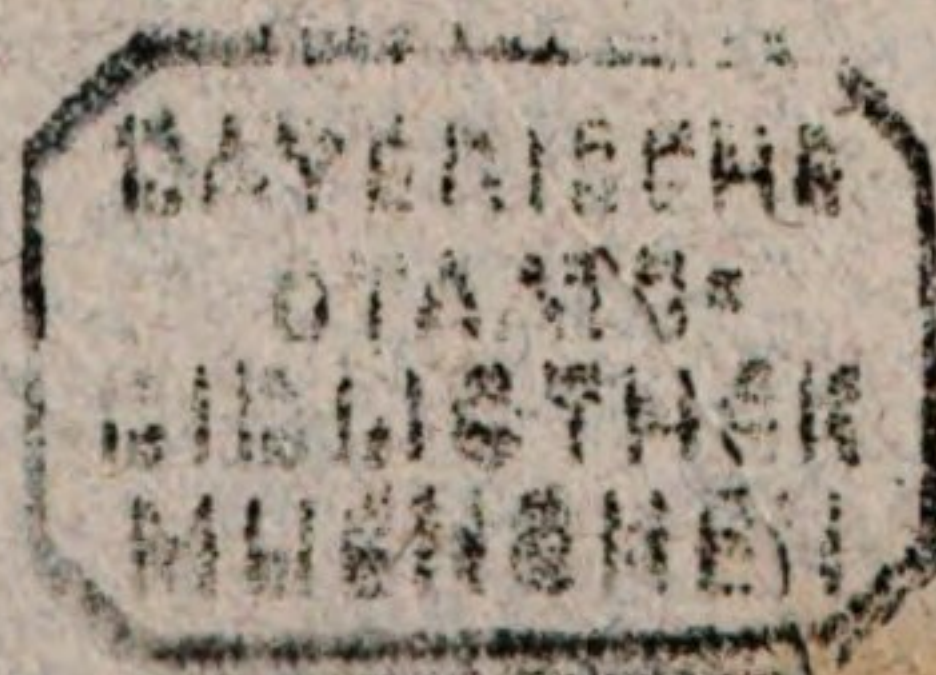
² *And we his subjects, &c.*] So, the folio. The quarto thus:

And therefore we charge you in God's name, and the king's,

To go along with us unto the officers. STEEVENS.

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* 2. KEEP. No, never such an oath; nor will not
now.

* K. HEN. Where did you dwell, when I was
king of England?

* 2. KEEP. Here in this country, where we now
remain.

* K. HEN. I was anointed king at nine months
old;

* My father, and my grandfather, were kings;

* And you were sworn true subjects unto me:

* And, tell me then, have you not broke your
oaths?

* 1. KEEP. No;

For we were subjects, but while you were king.

* K. HEN. Why, am I dead? do I not breathe a
man?

* Ah, simple men, you know not what you swear,

* Look, as I blow this feather from my face,

* And as the air blows it to me again,³

* Obeying with my wind when I do blow,

* And yielding to another when it blows,

* Commanded always by the greater gust;

* Such is the lightness of you common men.

* But do not break your oaths; for, of that sin

* My mild entreaty shall not make you guilty.

* Go where you will, the king shall be comman-
ded;

* And be you kings; command, and I'll obey.

* 1. KEEP. We are true subjects to the king,
king Edward.

³ Look, as I blow this feather from my face,

And as the air blows it to me again, &c.] So, in *The Winter's*

Tale:

"I am a feather for each wind that blows." MALONE.

- * K. HEN. So would you be again to Henry,
 * If he were seated as king Edward is.
 1. KEEP. We charge you, in God's name, and
 in the king's,⁴
 To go with us unto the officers.
 ' K. HEN. In God's name, lead;⁵ your king's
 name be obey'd:
 * And what God will, that let your king perform;
 * And what he will, I humbly yield unto. [*Exeunt*]

S E C N E II.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

*Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, CLARENCE, and
 Lady GREY.*

- ' K. EDW. Brother of Gloster, at saint Albans'
 field
 ' This lady's husband, sir John Grey,⁶ was slain,
 His lands then seiz'd on by the conqueror:

⁴ *and in the king's,*] The preposition — *in*, which is wanting in the old copy, I have supplied for the sake of metre. STEEVENS.

⁵ *In God's name, lead; &c.*] So, the folio. Instead of this speech, the quartos have the following:

God's name be fulfill'd, your king's name be
 Obey'd; and be you kings; command, and I'll obey.

STEEVENS.

⁶ — *Sir John Grey,*] Vid. Hall, *Third Year of Edward IV.* folio 5. It was hitherto falsely printed *Richard*. POPE.

Sir John Grey was slain at the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of King Henry. MALONE.

Her suit is now, to repossess those lands;

• Which we in justice cannot well deny,

Because in quarrel of the house of York

• The worthy gentleman did lose his life.⁶

GLO. Your highness shall do well, to grant her suit;

* It were dishonour, to deny it her.

K. EDW. It were no less; but yet I'll make a pause.

• GLO. Yea! is it so? [*Aside to Clar.*

I see, the lady hath a thing to grant,

⁶ *His lands then seiz'd on by the conqueror:*

Her suit is now, to repossess those lands;

Which we in justice cannot well deny,

Because in quarrel of the house of York

The worthy gentleman did lose his life.] This is in every parti-

cular a falsification of history. Sir John Grey, as has been already observed, fell in the second battle of Saint Albans, which was fought on Shrove-Tuesday, Feb. 17, 1460-1, fighting on the side of king Henry; and so far is it from being true that his lands were seized by the conqueror, (Queen Margaret,) that they were in fact seized by the very person who now speaks, after his great victory at Towton, on the 29th of March, 1461. The present scene is laid in 1464.

Shakspeare in new moulding this play followed implicitly his author, (for these five lines, with only a slight variation in the third, and fifth, are found in the old play,) without giving himself the trouble to examine the history; but a few years afterwards, when he had occasion to write his *Richard III.* and was not warped by a preceding misrepresentation of another writer, he stated from the chronicles this matter truly as it was; and this is one of the numerous circumstances that prove incontestably, in my apprehension, that he was not the original author of this and the preceding play.

In *King Richard III.* Act I. sc. iii. Richard addressing himself to Queen Elizabeth, (the lady Grey of the present scene,) says,

“ In all which time you, and your husband Grey,

“ Were factious for the house of Lancaster; —

“ (And Rivers so were you:) — was not your husband

“ In Margaret's battle at Saint Albans slain? —

He calls it *Margaret's battle*, because she was there victorious.

MALONE.

⁷ Glo. Yea! is it so? &c.] So the folio. The quartos read with the following variations:

Glo. I, Is the wind in that door?

Clarence. I see the lady, &c. STEEVENS.

Before the king will grant her humble suit.

CLAR. He knows the game; How true he keeps
the wind? [*Aside.*

GLO. Silence! [*Aside.*

' K. EDW. Widow, we will consider^s of your suit;
' And come some other time, to know our mind.

' L. GREY. Right gracious lord, I cannot brook
delay:

' May it please your highness to resolve me now;

' And what your pleasure is, shall satisfy me.

' GLO. [*Aside.*] Ay, widow? then I'll warrant
you all your lands,

' An if what pleases him, shall pleasure you.

' Fight closer, or, good faith, you'll catch a blow.

* CLAR. I fear her not, unless she chance to fall.
[*Aside.*

* GLO. God forbid that! for he'll take vantages.
[*Aside.*

' K. EDW. How many children hast thou, wi-
dow? tell me.

CLAR. I think, he means to beg a child of her.
[*Aside.*

GLO. Nay, whip me then; he'll rather give her
two. [*Aside.*

L. GREY. Three, my most gracious lord.

GLO. You shall have four, if you'll be rul'd by
him. [*Aside.*

' K. EDW. 'Twere pity, they should lose their
father's land.

L. GREY. Be pitiful, dreadlord, and grant it then.

^s *Widow, we will consider* —] This is a very lively and spritely dialogue; the reciprocation is quicker than is common in Shakespeare. JOHNSON.

K. EDW. Lords, give us leave; I'll try this widow's wit.

GLO. Ay, good leave have you;⁸ for you will have leave,

Till youth take leave, and leave you to the crutch.

[Gloster and Clarence retire to the other side.]

* K. EDW. Now tell me, madam, do you love your children?

* L. GREY. Ay, full as dearly as I love myself.

* K. EDW. And would you not do much to do them good?

* L. GREY. To do them good, I would sustain some harm.

* K. EDW. Then get your husband's land's, to do them good.

* L. GREY. Therefore I came unto your majesty.

K. EDW. I'll tell you how these lands are to be got.

* L. GREY. So shall you bind me to your highness' service.

* K. EDW. What service wilt thou do me, if I give them?

* L. GREY. What you command, that rests in me to do.

* K. EDW. But you will take exceptions to my boon.

* L. GREY. No, gracious lord, except I cannot do it.

* K. EDW. Ay, but thou canst do what I mean to ask.

* ——— good leave have you;] So, in *King John*:
" Good leave, good Philip. "

Good leave, are words implying readiness of assent. STEEVENS.

* L. GREY. Why, then I will do what your grace commands.

* GLO. He plies her hard; and much rain wears the marble.⁹ [*Aside.*

* CLAR. As red as fire! nay, then her wax must melt. [*Aside.*

L. GREY. Why stops my lord? shall I not hear my task?

K. EDW. An easy task; 'tis but to love a king.

L. GREY. That's soon perform'd, because I am a subject.

K. EDW. Why then, thy husband's lands I freely give thee.

L. GREY. I take my leave, with many thousand thanks.

GLO. The match is made; she seals it with a curt'fy.

* K. EDW. But stay thee, 'tis the fruits of love I mean.

* L. GREY. The fruits of love I mean, my loving liege.

* K. EDW. Ay, but, I fear me, in another sense. What love, think'st thou, I sue so much to get?

* L. GREY. My love till death,² my humble thanks, my prayers;

* That love, which virtue begs, and virtue grants.

⁹ — *much rain wears the marble.*] So, in Watson's 47th Sonnet:
"In time the marble weares with weakeſt ſhowres."

See note on *Dodſley's Collection of old Plays*, edit. 1780. Vol. XII, p. 387. STEEVENS.

² *My love till death, &c.*] The variation is here worth noting. In the old play we here find —

My humble ſervice, ſuch as ſubjects owe,
And the laws command. MALONE.

K. EDW. No, by my troth, I did not mean such love.

* L. GREY. Why, then you mean not as I thought you did.

* K. EDW. But now you partly may perceive my mind.

* L. GREY. My mind will never grant what I perceive

* Your highness aims at, if I aim aright.

K. EDW. To tell thee plain, I aim to lie with thee.

* L. GREY. To tell you plain, I had rather lie in prison.

K. EDW. Why, then thou shalt not have thy husband's lands.

L. GREY. Why, then mine honesty shall be my dower;

For by that loss I will not purchase them.

* K. EDW. Therein thou wrong'st thy children mightily.

L. GREY. Herein your highness wrongs both them and me.

But, mighty lord, this merry inclination

' Accords not with the sadness⁹ of my suit;

Please you dismiss me, either with ay, or no.

K. EDW. Ay; if thou wilt say ay, to my request:

No; if thou dost say no, to my demand.

L. GREY. Then, no, my lord. My suit is at an end.

* GLO. The widow likes him not, she knits her brows. [Aside.

⁹ — the sadness —] i. e. seriousness. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:
"Tell me in *sadness* who is the you love." STEEVENS.

CLAR. He is the bluntest wooer in Christendom.

[*Aside.*

K. EDW. [*Aside.*] Her looks do argue her replete with modesty;²

* Her words do show her wit incomparable;

* All her perfections challenge sovereignty:

One way, or other, she is for a king;

And she shall be my love, or else my queen. —

Say, that king Edward take thee for his queen?

L. GREY. 'Tis better said than done, my gracious lord:

I am a subject fit to jest withal,

But far unfit to be a sovereign.

K. EDW. Sweet widow, by my state I swear to thee,

I speak no more than what my soul intends;

And that is, to enjoy thee for my love.

L. GREY. And that is more than I will yield unto:

' I know, I am too mean to be your queen;

And yet too good to be your concubine.³

² *Her looks do argue her replete with modesty;*] So, the folio. The quartos read:

Her looks are all replete with majesty. STEEVENS.

³ *And yet too good to be your concubine.*] So, in Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, B. VII. chap. xxxiv:

"His plea was love, my suit was land: I plie him, he plies me;

"Too base to be his queen, too good his concubine to be."

Shakspeare, however, adopted the words from Stowe's *Chronicle*. STEEVENS.

These words, which are found in the old play, (except that we there have *bad*, instead of *mean*,) were taken by the author of that piece from Hall's *Chronicle*: "— whiche demaund she so wysely and with so covert speeche answered and repugned, affyrmyng that as she was for his honour far unable to be his spouse and bed-

K. EDW. You cavil, widow; I did mean, my queen.

L. GREY. 'Twill grieve your grace, my sons should call you — father.

K. EDW. No more, than when my daughters call thee mother.

Thou art a widow,⁴ and thou hast some children; And, by God's mother, I, being but a bachelor, Have other some: why, 'tis a happy thing To be the father unto many sons.

' Answer no more, for thou shalt be my queen.

GLO. The ghostly father now hath done his shrift,
[*Aside.*

CLAR. When he has made a shriver, 'twas for shift.
[*Aside.*

K. EDW. Brothers, you muse what chat we two have had.

* GLO. The widow likes it not, for she looks sad.⁵

K. EDW. You'd think it strange, if I should marry her.

CLAR. To whom, my lord?

K. EDW. Why, Clarence, to myself.

GLO. That would be ten days' wonder, at the least.

CLAR. That's a day longer than a wonder lasts.

fellowe, so for her awne poor honestie she was to good to be either his concubine, or soveraigne lady; that where he was a littell before heated with the dart of Cupido, he was nowe," &c.

MALONE.

⁴ *Thou art a widow, &c.*] This is part of the king's reply to his mother in Stowe's *Chronicle*: "That she is a widow, and hath already children; by God's blessed lady I am a batchelor, and have some too, and so each of us hath a prooffe that neither of us is like to be barrain;" &c. STEEVENS.

⁵ — *she looks sad.*] Old copy — *very* sad. For the sake of metre I have omitted this useless adverb. STEEVENS.

GLO. By so much is the wonder in extremes.

K. EDW. Well, jest on, brothers ; I can tell you both,

Her suit is granted for her husband's lands.

Enter a Nobleman.

NOB. My gracious lord, Henry your foe is taken,
' And brought your prisoner to your palace gate.

' K. EDW. See, that he be convey'd unto the Tower: —

' And go we, brothers, to the man that took him,
' To question of his apprehension. —

' Widow, go you along; — Lords, use her honourable.

[Exeunt King EDWARD, Lady GREY, CLARENCE, and Lord.]

GLO. Ay, Edward will use women honourably.

' Would he were wasted, marrow, bones, and all,

' That from his loins no hopeful branch may spring,

' To cross me from the golden time I look for!

' And yet, between my soul's desire, and me,

* (The lustful Edward's title buried,)

' Is Clarence, Henry, and his son young Edward,

' And all the unlook'd-for issue of their bodies,

' To take their rooms, ere I can place myself:

A cold premeditation for my purpose!

* Why, then I do but dream on sovereignty;

* Like one that stands upon a promontory,

* And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,

* Wishing his foot were equal with his eye;

* And chides the sea that sunders him from thence,

* Saying — he'll lade it dry to have his way:

* So do I wish the crown, being so far off;

* And so I chide the means that keep me from it;

* And so I say — I'll cut the causes off,
 * Flattering me with impossibilities. —
 * My eye's too quick, my heart o'erweens too much,
 * Unless my hand and strength could equal them.
 * Well, say there is no kingdom then for Richard;
 * What other pleasure can the world afford?
 ' I'll make my heaven⁵ in a lady's lap,
 ' And deck my body in gay ornaments,
 And witch sweet ladies with my words and looks.
 ' O miserable thought! and more unlikely,
 ' Than to accomplish twenty golden crowns!
 Why, love forswore me in my mother's womb:⁶
 ' And, for I should not deal in her soft laws,
 ' She did corrupt frail nature with some bribe
 ' To shrink mine arm up like a wither'd shrub;⁷
 ' To make an envious mountain on my back,
 Where fits deformity to mock my body;
 ' To shape my legs of an unequal size;
 * To disproportion me in every part,
 * Like to a chaos, or an unlick'd bear-whelp,⁸
 * That carries no impression like the dam.
 And am I then a man to be belov'd?

⁵ *I'll make my heaven &c.]* Thus the folio. The quartos alter and transpose the two lines, as follows:

I will go clad my body with gay ornaments,
 And lull myself within a lady's lap. STEEVENS.

⁶ — *love forswore me in my mother's womb:]* This line is found also in a play entitled *Wily Beguiled*. The earliest edition that I have seen of that piece, was printed in 1606; but it had been exhibited on the stage soon after the year 1590. MALONE.

⁷ — *like a wither'd shrub:]* So the folio. The quartos — like a wither'd shrimp. STEEVENS.

⁸ — *unlick'd bear-whelp,]* It was an opinion which, in spite of its absurdity, prevailed long, that the bear brings forth only shapeless lumps of animated flesh, which she licks into the form of bears. It is now well known that the whelps of the bear are produced in the same state with those of other creatures. JOHNSON.

* O, monstrous fault, to harbour such a thought!
 * Then, since this earth affords no joy to me,
 * But to command, to check, to o'erbear such
 * As are of better person than myself,⁹
 * I'll make my heaven — to dream upon the crown;
 * And, whiles I live, to account this world but hell,
 * Until my mishap'd trunk that bears this head,
 * Be round impaled with a glorious crown.²
 * And yet I know not how to get the crown,
 * For many lives stand between me and home:
 * And I, — like one lost in a thorny wood,
 * That rents the thorns, and is rent with the thorns;
 * Seeking a way, and straying from the way;
 * Not knowing how to find the open air,
 * But toiling desperately to find it out, —
 * Torment myself to catch the English crown:

⁹ — to o'erbear such

As are of better person than myself,] Richard speaks here the language of nature. Whoever is stigmatized with deformity has a constant source of envy in his mind, and would counter-balance by some other superiority those advantages which he feels himself to want. Bacon remarks that the deformed are commonly daring; and it is almost proverbially observed that they are ill-natured. The truth is, that the deformed, like all other men, are displeased with inferiority, and endeavour to gain ground by good or bad means, as they are virtuous or corrupt. JOHNSON.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

² *Until my mishap'd trunk that bears this head,*

Be round impaled &c.] A transposition seems to be necessary:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

“Untill my head, that this mishap'd trunk bears.”

Otherwise the *trunk that bears the head* is to be encircled with the crown, and not the *head* itself. STEEVENS.

Sir T. Hanmer reads as Mr. Steevens recommends. I believe our author is answerable for this inaccuracy. MALONE.

— impaled —] i. e. encircled. So, in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1630:

“Tear off the crown that yet empales his temples.”

STEEVENS.

* And from that torment I will free myself,
 * Or hew my way out with a bloody axe.
 Why, I can smile, and murder while I smile;
 ‘ And cry, content, to that which grieves my heart;
 * And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
 * And frame my face to all occasions.
 * I’ll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall;
 * I’ll flay more gazers than the basilisk;
 * I’ll play the orator as well as Nestor,
 * Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could,
 * And, like a Sinon, take another Troy:
 I can add colours to theameleon;
 ‘ Change shapes, with Proteus, for advantages,
 ‘ And set the murd’rous Machiavel to school.⁴
 Can I do this, and cannot get a crown?
 ‘ Tut! were it further off, I’ll pluck it down.

[*Exit.*

⁴ *And set the murd’rous Machiavel to school.*] As this is an anachronism, and the old quarto reads:

And set the aspiring Catiline to school, —

I don’t know why it should not be preferred. **WARBURTON.**

This is not the first proof I have met with, that Shakspeare, in his attempts to familiarize ideas, has diminished their propriety.

STEEVENS.

Catiline first occurred to the author of the old play, who was probably a scholar; and *Machiavel*, who is mentioned in various books of our author’s age, as the great exemplar of profound politicians, naturally was substituted by Shakspeare in his room. See this play, P. I. A& V. sc. iv:

“ Alençon! that notorious *Machiavel*!”

In *King Edward II.* Marlowe, who was probably the author of *The True Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke*, in like manner introduces *Catiline*:

“ Spencer, the father of that wanton Spencer,

“ That like the lawless *Catiline* of Rome,

“ Revell’d in England’s wealth and treasury.” **MALONE.**

S C E N E III.

France. *A Room in the Palace.*

Flourish. Enter LEWIS the French King, and Lady BONA, attended; the King takes his state. Then enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD her Son, and the Earl of OXFORD.

- ‘ K. LEW. Fair queen of England,⁵ worthy Margaret,
[*rising.*
‘ Sit down with us; it ill befits thy state,
‘ And birth, that thou should’st stand, while Lewis doth sit.
* Q. MAR. No, mighty king of France;⁶ now Margaret
* Must strike her fail, and learn a while to serve,
* Where kings command. I was, I must confess,
* Great Albion’s queen in former golden days:
* But now mischance hath trod my title down,
* And with dishonour laid me on the ground;

⁵ *Fair queen of England, &c.] Thus the folio. The quartos give the following:*

Welcome, queen Margaret, to the court of France,
It fits not Lewis to sit while thou dost stand.
Sit by my side; and here I vow to thee,
Thou shalt have aid to re-possess thy right,
And beat proud Edward from his usurped seat,
And place king Henry in his former rule. STEEVENS.

See the notes referred to in p. 15, n. 2. MALONE.

⁶ *No, mighty king of France; &c.] Instead of this speech the quartos only supply the following;*

Queen. I humbly thank your royal majesty,
And pray the God of heaven to bless thy state,
Great king of France, that thus regard’st our wrongs.

STEEVENS.

* Where I must take like seat unto my fortune,
 * And to my humble seat conform myself.

* K. LEW. Why, say, fair queen, whence springs
 this deep despair?

* Q. MAR. From such a cause as fills mine eyes
 with tears,

* And stops my tongue, while heart is drown'd in
 cares.

* K. LEW. Whate'er it be, be thou still like thyself,

* And sit thee by our side: yield not thy neck

[*Seats her by him.*

* To fortune's yoke, but let thy dauntless mind

* Still ride in triumph over all mischance.

* Be plain, queen Margaret, and tell thy grief;

* It shall be eas'd, if France can yield relief.

* Q. MAR. Those gracious words revive my
 drooping thoughts,

* And give my tongue-ty'd sorrows leave to speak.

* Now, therefore, be it known to noble Lewis, —

* That Henry, sole possessor of my love,

* Is, of a king, become a banish'd man,

* And forc'd to live in Scotland a forlorn;

* While proud ambitious Edward, duke of York,

* Usurps the regal title, and the seat

* Of England's true-anointed lawful king.

* This is the cause, that I, poor Margaret, —

* With this my son, prince Edward, Henry's heir, —

* Am come to crave thy just and lawful aid;

* And if thou fail us, all our hope is done:

* Scotland hath will to help, but cannot help;

* Our people and our peers are both misled,

* Our treasure seiz'd, our soldiers put to flight,

* And, as thou see'st, ourselves in heavy plight.

* K. LEW. Renowned queen, with patience calm
 the storm,

* While we bethink a means to break it off.

* Q. MAR. The more we stay, the stronger grows our foe.

* K. LEW. The more I stay, the more I'll succour thee.

* Q. MAR. O, but impatience waiteth on true sorrow:

* And see, where comes the breeder of my sorrow.

Enter WARWICK,⁷ attended.

K. LEW. What's he, approacheth boldly to our presence?

⁷ *Enter Warwick,*] This nobleman's embassy and commission, the insult he receives by the king's hasty marriage, and his consequent resolution to avenge it, with the capture, imprisonment, and escape of the king, Shakspeare, it is true, found in Hall and Holinshed; but later, as well as earlier writers, of better authority, incline us to discredit the whole; and to refer the rupture between the king and his political creator, to causes which have not reached posterity, or to that jealousy and ingratitude so natural, perhaps, to those who are under obligations too great to be discharged. *Beneficia, says Tacitus, eò usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenière, pro gratiâ odium redditur.*

There needs no other proof how little our common histories are to be depended upon than this fabulous story of Warwick and the lady Bona. The king was privately married to lady Elizabeth Widvile in 1463, and in February 1465 Warwick actually stood sponsor to the princess Elizabeth their first child. What secretly displeased him was, 1. the king's marrying one of the queen's sisters to the duke of Buckingham: 2. his conferring the office of lord treasurer (which he had taken from the lord Montjoy) upon lord Rivers, the queen's brother; 3. his making a match between the son and heir of the lord Herbert and another of the queen's sisters; and between that nobleman's daughter and the young lord Lisle; and creating young Herbert knight and lord of Dunstar; 4. his making a match between Sir Thomas Grey, the queen's son, and lady Ann daughter and heiress of the duke of Exeter, the king's niece, who had been talked of as a wife for the earl of Northum-

Q. MAR. Our earl of Warwick, Edward's greatest friend.

K. LEW. Welcome, brave Warwick! What brings thee to France?

[*Descending from his state.* Queen MARGARET rises.

* Q. MAR. Ay, now begins a second storm to rise;

* For this is he, that moves both wind and tide.

‘ WAR. From worthy Edward, king of Albion,
My lord and sovereign, and thy vowed friend,
I come,—in kindness, and unfeigned love,—
First, to do greetings to thy royal person;
And, then, to crave a league of amity;
And, lastly, to confirm that amity
With nuptial knot, if thou vouchsafe to grant
That virtuous lady Bona, thy fair sister,
To England's king in lawful marriage.

‘ Q. MAR. If that go forward, Henry's hope is done.⁸

WAR. And, gracious madam, [*to BONA.*] in our king's behalf,

‘ I am commanded, with your leave and favour,

berland, Warwick's brother. See *Wilhelmine Wyrcester Annales*, which are unfortunately defective from the beginning of November 1468, at which time no open rupture had taken place between the king and Warwick, who, for any thing that appears to the contrary, were, at least, *upon speaking terms*. RITSON.

⁸ ——— *Henry's hope is done.*] So, the folio. The quartos read: ——— *all our hope is done.* STEEVENS.

We have had nearly the same line in Margaret's former speech, p. 112. The line having made an impression on Shakspeare, he introduced it in that speech, which appears (except in this instance) to have been entirely his own production; and afterwards inadvertently suffered it with a slight variation to remain here, where only it is found in the old play. MALONE.

Humbly to kiss your hand, and with my tongue
To tell the passion of my sovereign's heart;
Where fame, late entering at his heedful ears,
Hath plac'd thy beauty's image, and thy virtue.⁹

Q. MAR. King Lewis,—and lady Bona,—hear
me speak,

‘ Before you answer Warwick. His demand²

* Springs not from Edward's well-meant honest
love,

* But from deceit, bred by necessity:

* For how can tyrants safely govern home,

* Unless abroad they purchase great alliance?

* To prove him tyrant, this reason may suffice,—

* That Henry liveth still: but were he dead,

* Yet here prince Edward stands, king Henry's son.

* Look therefore, Lewis, that by this league and
marriage

* Thou draw not on thy danger and dishonour:

* For though usurpers sway the rule a while,

* Yet heavens are just, and time suppresseth wrongs.

WAR. Injurious Margaret!

PRINCE.

And why not queen?

WAR. Because thy father Henry did usurp;

And thou no more art prince, than she is queen.

OXF. Then Warwick disannuls great John of
Gaunt,

Which did subdue the greatest part of Spain;

⁹ *Hath plac'd thy beauty's image, and thy virtue.*] So, the folio.
The quarto thus:

Hath plac'd thy glorious image, and thy virtues.

STEEVENS.

² *His demand &c.*] Instead of the remainder of this speech the
old play has the following lines:

————— hear me speak,

Before you answer Warwick, or his words,

For he it is hath done us all these wrongs. MALONE.

And, after John of Gaunt, Henry the fourth,
 ' Whose wisdom was a mirror to the wisest;⁹
 And, after that wise prince, Henry the fifth,
 Who by his prowess conquered all France:
 From these our Henry lineally descends.

WAR. Oxford, how haps it, in this smooth discourse,

You told not, how Henry the sixth hath lost
 All that which Henry the fifth had gotten?
 Methinks, these peers of France should smile at
 that.

But for the rest,—You tell a pedigree
 Of threescore and two years; a silly time
 To make prescription for a kingdom's worth.

' OXF. Why, Warwick, canst thou speak against
 thy liege,

' Whom thou obeyed'st thirty and six years:²
 And not bewray thy treason with a blush?

WAR. Can Oxford, that did ever fence the right,
 Now buckler falsehood with a pedigree?
 For shame, leave Henry, and call Edward king.

' OXF. Call him my king, by whose injurious
 doom

' My elder brother, the lord Aubrey Vere,
 Was done to death? and more than so, my father,
 Even in the downfall of his mellow'd years,
 ' When nature brought him to the door of death?³

⁹ ——— *to the wisest*;] So, the folio. The quartos—to *the world*.
 STEEVENS.

² ——— *thirty and six years*,] So, the folio. The quartos—*thirty and eight years*. STEEVENS.

The number in the old play is right. The alteration, however, is of little consequence. MALONE.

³ *When nature brought him to the door of death?*] Thus the folio. The quartos:

"When *age* did call him to the door of death." STEEVENS.

No, Warwick, no; while life upholds this arm,
This arm upholds the house of Lancaster.

WAR. And I the house of York.

K. LEW. Queen Margaret, prince Edward, and
Oxford,

‘ Vouchsafe, at our request, to stand aside,

‘ While I use further conference with Warwick.

* Q. MAR. Heavens grant, that Warwick’s words
bewitch him not!

[*Retiring with the PRINCE and OXFORD.*

‘ K. LEW. Now, Warwick, tell me, even upon
thy conscience,

‘ Is Edward your true king? for I were loath,

‘ To link with him that were not lawful chosen.⁴

WAR. Thereon I pawn my credit and mine honour.

This passage unavoidably brings before the mind that admirable
image of *old age* in Sackville’s *Induction*:

“ His withered fist still knocking at death’s door,” &c.

FARMER.

⁴ ———— *that were not lawful chosen.*] Thus the folio. The
quarto as follows:

——— that is not lawful heir. STEEVENS.

Here we have another instance of an impropriety into which
Shakspeare has fallen by sometimes following and sometimes de-
serting his original. After Lewis has asked in the old play whether
Henry was *lawful heir* to the crown of England, and has been an-
swered in the affirmative; he next inquires whether he is *gracious*,
that is, a favourite with the people. Shakspeare has preserved this
latter question, though he made a variation in the former; not
adverting that after a man has been *chosen* by the voices of the
people to be their king, it is quite superfluous to ask whether he is
popular or no.—Edward was in fact *chosen* king, both by the par-
liament and by a large body of the people assembled in St. John’s
fields. See Fabian, who wrote about fifty years after the time,
p. 472, and Stowe, p. 688, edit. 1605. MALONE.

I do not perceive the impropriety of the king’s question, or the
cogency of the remark founded on it. Is it impossible that a king,
elected by his people, should soon afterwards become unpopular?

STEEVENS.

K. LEW. But is he gracious in the people's eye?

WAR. The more, that Henry was unfortunate.⁵

K. LEW. Then further,—all dissembling set aside,

‘ Tell me for truth the measure of his love

‘ Unto our sister Bona.

WAR.

Such it seems,

As may beseem a monarch like himself.

Myself have often heard him say, and swear,—

That this his love was an eternal plant;⁶

Whereof the root was fix'd in virtue's ground,

The leaves and fruit maintain'd with beauty's sun;

Exempt from envy, but not from disdain,⁷

Unless the lady Bona quit his pain.

⁵ ——— *that Henry was unfortunate.*] He means, that Henry was unsuccessful in war, having lost his dominions in France, &c.

MALONE.

⁶ *that this his love was an eternal plant;*] The old quarto reads rightly *eternal*; alluding to the plants of Paradise.

WARBURTON.

In the language of Shakspeare's time, by an *eternal* plant was meant what we now call a *perennial* one. STEEVENS.

The folio read—an *external* plant; but as that word seems to afford no meaning, and as Shakspeare has adopted every other part of this speech as he found it in the old play, without alteration, I suppose *external* was a mistake of the transcriber or printer, and have therefore followed the reading of the quarto. MALONE.

⁷ *Exempt from envy, but not from disdain,*] Envy is always supposed to have some fascinating or blasting power; and to be out of the reach of envy is therefore a privilege belonging only to great excellence. I know not well why *envy* is mentioned here, or whose *envy* can be meant; but the meaning is, that his love is superior to *envy*, and can feel no blast from the lady's *disdain*. Or, that, if Bona refuse to *quit* or *requite* his pain, his love may turn to *disdain*, though the consciousness of his own merit will exempt him from the pangs of *envy*. JOHNSON.

I believe *envy* is in this place, as in many others, put for *malice* or *hatred*. His situation places him above these, though it cannot secure him from female *disdain*. STEEVENS.

K. LEW. Now, sister, let us hear your firm resolve.

BONA. Your grant, or your denial, shall be mine:—

Yet I confess, [*to War.*] that often ere this day,
When I have heard your king's desert recounted,
Mine ear hath tempted judgement to desire.

* K. LEW. Then, Warwick, thus,—Our sister
shall be Edward's;

* And now forthwith shall articles be drawn
* Touching the jointure that your king must make,
* Which with her dowry shall be counterpois'd:—
Draw near, queen Margaret; and be a witness,
That Bona shall be wife to the English king.

PRINCE. To Edward, but not to the English king.

* Q. MAR. Deceitful Warwick! it was thy de-
vice

* By this alliance to make void my suit;
* Before thy coming, Lewis was Henry's friend.

* K. LEW. And still is friend to him and Mar-
garet:

* But if your title to the crown be weak,—
* As may appear by Edward's good success,—
* Then 'tis but reason, that I be releas'd
* From giving aid, which late I promised.
* Yet shall you have all kindness at my hand,
* That your estate requires, and mine can yield.

WAR. Henry now lives in Scotland, at his ease;
Where having nothing, nothing he can lose.
And as for you yourself, our *quondam* queen,—
You have a father able⁸ to maintain you;
And better 'twere, you troubled him than France.

⁸ *You have a father able* —] This seems ironical. The poverty of Margaret's father is a very frequent topic of reproach.

* Q. MAR. Peace, impudent and shameless Warwick, peace;⁸

* Proud fetter-up and puller-down of kings!⁹

* I will not hence, till with my talk and tears,

* Both full of truth, I make king Lewis behold

* Thy fly conveyance,² and thy lord's false love;

* For both of you are birds of self-same feather.

[*A horn sounded within.*

K. LEW. Warwick, this is some post to us, or thee.

Enter a Messenger.

MES. My lord ambassador, these letters are for you;

Sent from your brother, marquis Montague.—

These from our king unto your majesty.—

And, madam, these for you; from whom, I know not.

[*To Margaret. They all read their letters.*

OXF. I like it well, that our fair queen and mistress

Smiles at her news, while Warwick frowns at his.

PRINCE. Nay, mark, how Lewis stamps as he were nettled:

* I hope, all's for the best.

⁸ *Peace, impudent and shameless Warwick, peace;*] The word *peace*, at the end of this line, is wanting in the first folio, but is supplied by the second. STEEVENS.

⁹ *Proud fetter-up and puller-down of kings!*] The queen here applies to Warwick, the very words that Edward, in p. 71, addresses to the Deity. M. MASON.

See p. 71, n. 8. The repetition has been already accounted for, in p. 96, n. 4, &c. MALONE.

² *Thy fly conveyance,*] Conveyance is *juggling*, and thence is taken for artifice and fraud. JOHNSON.

So, in *King Richard II*:

“ — — conveyers are you all,

“ That rise thus nimbly by a true king's fall.” STEEVENS.

K. LEW. Warwick, what are thy news? and
yours, fair queen?

Q. MAR. Mine, such as fill my heart with un-
hop'd joys.

WAR. Mine, full of sorrow and heart's discon-
tent.

K. LEW. What? has your king marry'd the lady
Grey?

And now, to sooth your forgery and his,³

Sends me a paper to persuade me patience?

Is this the alliance that he seeks with France?

Dare he presume to scorn us in this manner?

* Q. MAR. I told your majesty as much before:
This proveth Edward's love, and Warwick's honesty.

WAR. King Lewis, I here protest,—in sight of
heaven,

And by the hope I have of heavenly bliss,—

That I am clear from this misdeed of Edward's;

No more my king, so he dishonours me;

But most himself, if he could see his shame.—

Did I forget, that by the house of York

My father came untimely to his death?⁴

³ ——— to sooth your forgery and his,] To soften it, to make it
more endurable: or perhaps, to sooth us, and to prevent our being
exasperated by your forgery and his. MALONE.

⁴ Did I forget, that by the house of York

My father came untimely to his death?] Warwick's father came
untimely to his death, being taken at the battle of Wakefield, and
beheaded at Pomfret. But the author of the old play imagined he
fell at the action at Ferry-bridge, and has in a former scene, to
which this line refers, (See p. 69, n. 4.) described his death as
happening at that place. Shakspeare very properly rejected that
description of the death of the earl of Salisbury, of whose death no
mention is made in this play, as it now stands; yet he has in advert-
ently retained this line which alludes to a preceding description
that he had struck out; and this is another proof of his falling
into inconsistencies, by sometimes following, and sometimes desert-
ing, his original. MALONE.

Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece?⁴

Did I impale him with the regal crown?

Did I put Henry from his native right;⁵

‘ And am I guerdon’d⁶ at the last with shame?

* Shame on himself! for my desert is honour.

* And, to repair my honour lost for him,

* I here renounce him, and return to Henry:

‘ My noble queen, let former grudges pass,

And henceforth I am thy true servitor;

I will revenge his wrong to lady Bona,

And replant Henry in his former state.

‘ Q. MAR. Warwick, these words have turn’d
my hate to love;

‘ And I forgive and quite forget old faults,

‘ And joy that thou becom’st king Henry’s friend.

WAR. So much his friend, ay, his unfeigned
friend,

That if king Lewis vouchsafe to furnish us

With some few bands of chosen soldiers,

I’ll undertake to land them on our coast,

And force the tyrant from his seat by war.

’Tis not his new-made bride shall succour him:

* And as for Clarence,—as my letters tell me,

* He’s very likely now to fall from him;

* For matching more for wanton lust than honour,

⁴ *Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece?*] Thus Holinshed, p. 668: “King Edward did attempt a thing once in the earles house, which was much against the earles honestie (whether he would have defloured his daughter or his *niece*, the certaintie was not for both their honours revealed) for surely such a thing was attempted by king Edward.” STEEVENS.

⁵ *Did I put Henry from his native right; &c.*] Thus the folio. The quartos read:

And thrust king Henry from his native home?

And (most ungrateful) doth he use me thus? STEEVENS.

⁶ ——— *guerdon’d* —] i. e. rewarded. So, in P. II. of this play:

“ See you well *guerdon’d* for these good deserts.” STEEVENS.

* Or than for strength and safety of our country.

* BONA. Dear brother, how shall Bona be reveng'd,

* But by thy help to this distressed queen?

* Q. MAR. Renowned prince, how shall poor Henry live,

* Unless thou rescue him from foul despair?

* BONA. My quarrel, and this English queen's, are one.

* WAR. And mine, fair lady Bona, joins with yours.

* K. LEW. And mine, with hers, and thine, and Margaret's.

Therefore, at last, I firmly am resolv'd,
You shall have aid.

* Q. MAR. Let me give humble thanks for all at once.

K. LEW. Then England's messenger, return in post;

And tell false Edward, thy supposed king,—
That Lewis of France is sending over maskers,
To revel it with him and his new bride:

* Thou seest what's past, go fear thy king⁷ withal.

BONA. Tell him, In hope he'll prove a widower,
shortly,

I'll wear the willow garland for his sake.

Q. MAR. Tell him, My mourning weeds are laid
aside,

And I am ready to put armour on.⁸

⁷ — go fear thy king —] That is, *fright* thy king. JOHNSON.
So, in *King Henry IV.* P. II:

“The people *fear* me” &c. STEEVENS.

⁸ — to put armour on.] It was once no unusual thing for

WAR. Tell him from me, That he hath done me
wrong;

And therefore I'll uncrown him, ere't be long.

There's thy reward;⁹ be gone. [Exit Mes.

K. LEW.

But, Warwick, thou,

And Oxford, with five thousand men,

Shall cross the seas, and bid false Edward battle:²

* And, as occasion serves, this noble queen

* And prince shall follow with a fresh supply.

' Yet, ere thou go, but answer me one doubt;—

' What pledge have we of thy firm loyalty?

WAR. This shall assure my constant loyalty;—
That if our queen and this young prince agree,
I'll join mine eldest daughter, and my joy,
To him forthwith³ in holy wedlock bands.

queens themselves to appear in armour at the head of their forces. The suit which Elizabeth wore, when she rode through the lines at Tilbury to encourage the troops, on the approach of the armada, may be still seen in the Tower. STEEVENS.

⁹ — *thy reward*;] Here we are to suppose that, according to ancient custom, Warwick makes a present to the herald or messenger, whom the original copies call—a *Post*. See Vol. XIII. p. 386, n. 8. STEEVENS.

² — *and bid false Edward battle*:] This phrase is common to many of our ancient writers. So, in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, a dramattick performance, 1587:

“ — my flesh abhors

“ To bid the battle to my proper blood.” STEEVENS.

³ *I'll join mine eldest daughter, and my joy,
To him forthwith* —] Surely this is a mistake of the copyist's. Hall, in the ninth year of K. Edward IV. says, “ Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne *second* daughter to the earl of Warwick.” And the duke of Clarence was in love with the *elder*, the lady Isabel; and in reality was married to her five years before prince Edward took the lady Anne to wife. And, in *King Richard the Third*, Gloster, who married this lady Anne when a widow, says:

“ For then I'll marry Warwick's *youngest* daughter.

“ What though I kill'd her husband and her father?”

‘ Q. MAR. Yes, I agree,⁴ and thank you for your motion:—

‘ Son Edward, she is fair and virtuous,
 ‘ Therefore delay not, give thy hand to Warwick;
 ‘ And, with thy hand, thy faith irrevocable,
 ‘ That only Warwick’s daughter shall be thine.

i. e. prince Edward, and king Henry VI. her father-in law. See likewise Holinshed, in his *Chronicle*, p. 671 and 674.

THEOBALD.

This is a departure from the truth of history, for Edward prince of Wales (as Mr. Theobald has observed) was married to Anne, the *second* daughter of the earl of Warwick.

But notwithstanding this, his reading [*youngest* daughter] has, I think, been improperly adopted by the subsequent editors; for though in fact the duke of Clarence married Isabella, the *eldest* daughter of Warwick, in 1468, and Edward prince of Wales married Anne, *second* daughter, in 1470; *neither* of his daughters was married at the time when Warwick was in France negotiating a marriage between Lady Bona and his king: so that there is no inconsistency in the present proposal. Supposing, however, that the original author of this play made a mistake, and imagined that the *youngest* daughter of Warwick was married to Clarence, I apprehend, he, and not his editor, ought to answer for it.

This is one of the numerous circumstances which prove that Shakspeare was not the *original* author of this play; for though here, as in a former passage, (p. 100, n. 6.) he has followed the old drama, when he afterwards wrote his *King Richard III.* and found it necessary to consult the ancient historians, he represented Lady Anne, as she in fact was, the widow of Edward, prince of Wales, and the *youngest* daughter of the earl of Warwick.

MALONE.

Is it improbable then that Shakspeare should have become more accurate as he grew older? Might he not, previous to the composition of a later play, have furnished himself with that knowledge of history which was wanting in his dramatick performance of an earlier date? STEEVENS.

⁴ Yes, I agree, &c.] Instead of this speech, the quarto has only the following:

With all my heart; I like this match full well.
 Love her, son Edward; she is fair and young;
 And give thy hand to Warwick, for his love.

STEEVENS.

* PRINCE. Yes, I accept her, for she well deserves it;

* And here, to pledge my vow, I give my hand.
[*He gives his hand to Warwick.*]

* K. LEW. Why stay we now? These soldiers shall be levy'd,

* And thou, lord Bourbon, ⁵ our high admiral,

* Shall waft them over with our royal fleet.—

* I long, till Edward fall by war's mischance,

* For mocking marriage with a dame of France.

Exeunt all but Warwick.

WAR. I came from Edward as embassador,
But I return his sworn and mortal foe:
Matter of marriage was the charge he gave me,
But dreadful war shall answer his demand.
Had he none else to make a stale, but me?
Then none but I shall turn his jest to sorrow.
I was the chief that rais'd him to the crown,
And I'll be chief to bring him down again:
Not that I pity Henry's misery,
But seek revenge on Edward's mockery. [Exit.

⁵ *And thou, lord Bourbon, &c.] Instead of this and the three following lines, we have these in the old play:*

*And you, lord Bourbon, our high admiral,
Shall waft them safely to the English coasts;
And chase proud Edward from his slumb'ring trance,
For mocking marriage with the name of France.*

MALONE.

A C T IV. S C E N E I.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

*Enter GLOSTER, CLARENCE, SOMERSET, MONTAGUE,
and Others.*

‘ GLO. Now tell me, brother Clarence,⁶ what
think you

‘ Of this new marriage with the lady Grey?

* Hath not our brother made a worthy choice?

* CLAR. Alas, you know, ’tis far from hence to
France;

* How could he stay till Warwick made return?

* SOM. My lords, forbear this talk ; here comes
the king.

*Flourish. Enter King Edward, attended ; Lady Grey,
as Queen ; PEMBROKE, STAFFORD, HASTINGS, and
Others.*⁷

* GLO. And his well-chosen bride.

⁶ *Now tell me, brother Clarence,*] In the old play the king enters
here along with his brothers, not after them, and opens the scene
thus :

Edw. Brothers of Clarence and of Gloucester,
What think you of our marriage with the lady Grey?

Glo. My lord, we think as Warwick and Lewis,
That are so slack in judgment that they’ll take
No offence at this sudden marriage.

Edw. Suppose they do, they are but Lewis and Warwick ;
And I am your king and Warwick’s ; and will be
Obey’d.

Glo. And shall, because you are our king ;
But yet such sudden marriages seldom proveth well.

Edw. Yea, brother Richard, are you against us too?

MALONE.

⁷ The stage direction in the folio, [*Four stand on one side, and four
on the other.*] is sufficient proof that the play, as exhibited there,

* CLAR. I mind to tell him plainly what I think.

‘ K. EDW. Now, brother of Clarence, how like you our choice,

‘ That you stand penfive, as half malcontent?

‘ CLAR. As well as Lewis of France, or the earl of Warwick;

‘ Which are so weak of courage, and in judgement,

‘ That they’ll take no offence at our abuse.

‘ K. EDW. Suppose, they take offence without a cause,

‘ They are but Lewis and Warwick; I am Edward,

‘ Your king and Warwick’s, and must have my will.

‘ GLO. And shall have your will, because our king:

‘ Yet hasty marriage seldom proveth well.

K. EDW. Yea, brother Richard, are you offended too?⁸

‘ GLO. Not I:

‘ No; God forbid, that I should wish them sever’d

‘ Whom God hath join’d together: ay, and ’twere pity,

To sunder them that yoke so well together.

‘ K. EDW. Setting your scorns, and your mislike, aside,

‘ Tell me some reason, why the lady Grey

‘ Should not become my wife, and England’s queen:

‘ And you too, Somerset,⁹ and Montague.

‘ Speak freely what you think.

was printed from a stage copy. I suppose these *eight* important personages were attendants. STEEVENS.

⁸ ———are you offended too?] So, the folio. The quartos ——— are you *against* us too? STEEVENS.

⁹ And you too, Somerset, &c.] In the old play Somerset does not appear in this scene. MALONE.

- ‘ CLAR. Then this is my opinion,²—that king
Lewis
‘ Becomes your enemy, for mocking him
‘ About the marriage of the lady Bona.
‘ GLO. And Warwick, doing what you gave in
charge,
‘ Is now dishonoured by this new marriage.
‘ K. EDW. What, if both Lewis and Warwick be
appeas’d,
‘ By such invention as I can devise?
MONT. Yet to have join’d with France in such
alliance,
Would more have strengthen’d this our common-
wealth
‘ Gainst foreign storms, than any home-bred mar-
riage.
‘ HAST. Why, knows not Montague, that of it-
self
‘ England is save, if true within itself?³

² Clar. *Then this is my opinion,—&c.*] Instead of this and the following speech, the quartos read thus:

Gla. My lord, then this is my opinion;
That Warwick, being dishonour’d in his embassage,
Doth seek revenge, to quit his injuries.

Glo. And Lewis, in regard of his sister’s wrongs,
Doth join with Warwick to supplant your state.

STEEVENS.

³ *Why, knows not Montague, that of itself
England is safe, if true within itself?*] In the old play these lines stand thus:

Let England be true within itself,
We need not France nor any alliance with them.

It is observable that the first of these lines occurs in the old play of *King John*, 1591, from which our author borrowed it, and inserted it with a slight change in his own play with the same title.

MALONE.

* MONT. Yes; but the safer, when 'tis back'd
with France.³

* HAST. 'Tis better using France, than trusting
France :

* Let us be back'd with God, and with the seas,⁴

* Which he hath given for fence impregnable,

* And with their helps only defend ourselves,

* In them, and in ourselves, our safety lies.

CLAR. For this one speech, lord Hastings well
deserves

• To have the heir of the lord Hungerford.

• K. EDW. Ay, what of that? it was my will, and
grant ;

* And, for this once, my will shall stand for law.

• GLO. And yet, methinks,⁵ your grace hath not
done well,

The original of this sentiment is probably to be found in DR. ANDREW BORDE'S *first booke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, b. 1. printed for Copland, Sign. A 4. "They (i. e. the English) fare sumptuously, God is served in their churches devoutly, but treason and deceyt among them is used craftily, y^e more pitie, for yf they were true wythin themselves, they nede not to feare although all nacions were set against them." The author of *Fuimus Troes*, 1633, has also adopted it :

"Yet maugre all, if we ourselves are true,

"We may despise what all the earth can do." REED.

³ Yes; but the safer, &c.] Thus the second folio. Yes, in the first, is omitted. STEEVENS.

⁴ ——— with the seas,] This has been the advice of every man who in any age understood and favoured the interest of England.

JOHNSON.

⁵ And yet methinks, &c.] The quartos vary from the folio, as follows :

Cla. Ay, Ay, and for such a thing too, the lord Scales Did well deserve at your hands, to have the Daughter of the lord Bonfield; and left your Brothers to go seek elsewhere; but in your madness You bury brotherhood. STEEVENS.

- To give the heir and daughter of lord Scales
- Unto the brother of your loving bride;
- She better would have fitted me, or Clarence:
- But in your bride you bury brotherhood.
- CLAR. Or else you would not have bestow'd
the heir⁶
- Of the lord Bonville on your new wife's son,
- And leave your brothers to go speed elsewhere.
- K. EDW. Alas, poor Clarence! is it for a wife,
- That thou art malcontent? I will provide thee.
- CLAR. In choosing for yourself, you show'd your
judgement:
- Which being shallow, you shall give me leave
- To play the broker in mine own behalf;
- And, to that end, I shortly mind to leave you.
- K. EDW. Leave me, or tarry, Edward will be
king,
- And not be ty'd unto his brother's will.
- Q. ELIZ. My lords, before it pleas'd his ma-
jesty
- To raise my state to title of a queen,
- Do me but right, and you must all confess
- That I was not ignoble of descent,⁷
- * And meaner than myself have had like fortune.
- * But as this title honours me and mine,

⁶ ———you would not have bestow'd the heir —] It must be remembered, that till the Restoration, the heiresses of great estates were in the wardship of the king, who in their minority gave them up to plunder, and afterwards matched them to his favourites. I know not when liberty gained more than by the abolition of the court of wards. JOHNSON.

⁷ ——— I was not ignoble of descent,] Her father was sir Richard Widville, knight, afterwards earl of Rivers; her mother, Jaqueline, Duchess dowager of Bedford, who was daughter to Peter of Luxemburgh, earl of Saint Paul, and widow of John duke of Bedford, brother to King Henry V. MALONE.

* So your dislikes, to whom I would be pleasing,
 * Do cloud my joys with danger and with sorrow.

‘ K. EDW. My love, forbear to fawn upon their
 frowns : ⁸

‘ What danger, or what sorrow can befall thee,
 ‘ So long as Edward is thy constant friend,
 ‘ And their true sovereign, whom they must obey ?
 ‘ Nay, whom they shall obey, and love thee too,
 ‘ Unless they seek for hatred at my hands :
 ‘ Which if they do, yet will I keep thee safe,
 ‘ And they shall feel the vengeance of my wrath.

* GLO. I hear, yet say not much, but think the
 more. [*Aside.*

Enter a Messenger.

‘ K. EDW. Now, messenger, what letters, or what
 news,
 From France ?

‘ MES. My sovereign liege, no letters ; and few
 words,
 ‘ But such as I, without your special pardon,
 Dare not relate.

‘ K. EDW. Go to, we pardon thee : therefore in
 brief,
 ‘ Tell me their words as near as thou canst guess
 them.
 ‘ What answer makes king Lewis unto our letters ?

⁸ *My love, forbear &c.*] Instead of this and the following speech,
 the old play has only these lines :

Edw. Forbear, my love, to fawne upon their frowns,
 For thee they must obey, nay, shall obey,
 And if they look for favour at my hands.

Mont. My lord, here is the messenger return'd from
 Fraunce. MALONE.

MES. At my depart, these were his very words;
Go tell false Edward, thy supposed king,—
That Lewis of France is sending over maskers,
To revel it with him and his new bride.

K. EDW. Is Lewis so brave? belike, he thinks
 me Henry.

‘ But what said lady Bona to my marriage? ⁹

MES. These were her words, utter’d with mild
 disdain;

Tell him, in hope he’ll prove a widower shortly,
I’ll wear the willow garland for his sake.

‘ K. EDW. I blame not her, she could say little
 less;

‘ She had the wrong. But what said Henry’s queen?

‘ For I have heard, that she was there in place. ²

MES. *Tell him, quoth she, my mourning weeds are*
done, ³

And I am ready to put armour on.

‘ K. EDW. Belike, she minds to play the Amazon.
 But what said Warwick to these injuries?

‘ MES. He, more incens’d against your majesty
 ‘ Than all the rest, discharg’d me with these words;
Tell him from me, that he hath done me wrong,
And therefore I’ll uncrown him, ere’t be long.

⁹ ——— to my marriage?] The quartos read:

——— to these wrongs. STEEVENS.

² ——— *she was there* in place.] This expression, signifying, she
 was there present, occurs frequently in old English writers.

MALONE.

En place, a Gallicism. STEEVENS.

³ ——— *are done*,] i. e. are consumed, thrown off. The word
 is often used in this sense by the writers of our author’s age. So,
 in his *Rape of Lucrece*:

“ And if possess’d, as soon decay’d and *done*

“ As is the morning’s silver-melting dew.” MALONE.

- ‘ K. EDW. Ha ! durst the traitor breathe out so proud words ?
- ‘ Well, I will arm me, being thus forewarn’d :
- ‘ They shall have wars, and pay for their presumption.
- ‘ But say, is Warwick friends with Margaret ?
- ‘ MES. Ay, gracious sovereign ; they are so link’d in friendship,
- ‘ That young prince Edward marries Warwick’s daughter.
- CLAR. Belike, the elder ; Clarence will have the younger.⁴
- * Now, brother king, farewell, and sit you fast,
- * For I will hence to Warwick’s other daughter ;
- * That, though I want a kingdom, yet in marriage
- * I may not prove inferior to yourself.—
- You, that love me and Warwick, follow me.⁵
- [Exit CLARENCE, and SOMERSET follows.

⁴ *Belike the elder ; Clarence will have the younger.*] I have ventured to make *elder* and *younger* change places in this line against the authority of all the printed copies. The reason of it will be obvious. THEOBALD.

Clarence having in fact married Isabella, the *elder* daughter of Warwick, Mr. Theobald made *elder* and *younger* change places in this line ; in which he has been followed, I think, improperly, by the subsequent editors : The author of the old play, where this line is found, might from ignorance or intentionally have deviated from history, in his account of the person whom Clarence married. See a former note, p. 124, n. 3.

⁵ *You, that love me and Warwick, follow me.*] That Clarence should make this speech in the king’s hearing is very improbable, yet I do not see how it can be palliated. The king never goes out, nor can Clarence be talking to a company apart, for he answers immediately to that which the Poet says to the king.

JOHNSON.

When the earl of Essex attempted to raise a rebellion in the city, with a design, as was supposed, to storm the queen’s palace, he

* GLO. Not I: ⁶

* My thoughts aim at a further matter; I

* Stay not for the love of Edward, but the crown.
[*Aside.*

K. EDW. Clarence and Somerset both gone to
Warwick!

* Yet am I arm'd against the worst can happen;

* And haste is needful in this desperate case.—

‘ Pembroke, and Stafford,’ you in our behalf

‘ Go levy men, and make prepare for war:

‘ They are already, or quickly will be landed:

‘ Myself in person will straight follow you.

[*Exeunt Pembroke and Stafford.*

ran about the streets with his sword drawn, crying out, “ They
that love me, follow me.” STEEVENS.

Clarence certainly speaks in the hearing of the king, who im-
mediately after his brother has retired, exclaims, that he is gone
to join with Warwick.

This line is in the old quarto play. One nearly resembling it is
likewise found in *The battle of Alcazar*, 1594:

“ Myself will lead the way,

“ And make a passage with my conquering sword,

“ Knee-deep in blood of these accursed Moors;

“ And they that love my honour, follow me.”

So also in our author's *King Richard III*:

“ The rest that love me, rise, and follow me.”

MALONE.

⁶ Glo. *Not I* :] After Clarence goes out, we have in the old play
the following dialogue; part of which Shakspeare rejected, and
transposed the rest:

Edw. Clarence and Somerset fled to Warwick!

What say you, brother Richard, will you stand to us? &c.

MALONE.

See note 8, in the following page. STEEVENS.

⁷ *Pembroke, and Stafford*, &c.] The quartos give the passage
thus:

Pembroke, go raise an army presently;

Pitch up my tent; for in the field this night

I mean to rest; and, on the morrow morn,

I'll march to meet proud Warwick, ere he land

Those straggling troops which he hath got in France.

' But, ere I go, Hastings,—and Montague,—
 ' Resolve my doubt. You twain, of all the rest,
 ' Are near to Warwick, by blood, and by alliance:
 ' Tell me, if you love Warwick more than me?
 ' If it be so, then both depart to him;
 ' I rather wish you foes, than hollow friends;
 ' But if you mind to hold your true obedience,
 ' Give me assurance with some friendly vow,
 ' That I may never have you in suspect.

MON. So God help Montague, as he proves true!

HAST. And Hastings, as he favours Edward's
cause!

' K. EDW. Now, brother Richard, will you stand
by us?

GLO. Ay, in despite of all that shall withstand
you.⁸

' K. EDW. Why so; then am I sure of victory.
 ' Now therefore let us hence; and lose no hour,
 ' Till we meet Warwick with his foreign power.

[*Exeunt.*

But ere I go, Montague and Hastings, you
 Of all the rest are nearest ally'd in blood
 To Warwick; therefore tell me if you favour
 Him more than me, or not; speak truly, for
 I had rather have you open enemies
 Than hollow friends. STEEVENS.

' *Ay, in despite of all that shall withstand you.*] The quartos
continue the speech thus:

Ay, my lord, in despite of all that shall withstand you;
 For why hath nature made me halt downright
 But that I should be valiant, and stand to it?
 For if I would, I cannot run away. STEEVENS.

SCENE II.

A Plain in Warwickshire.

Enter WARWICK and OXFORD, with French and other forces.

WAR. Trust me, my lord, all hitherto goes well ;
The common people by numbers swarm to us.

Enter CLARENCE and SOMERSET.

But, see, where Somerset and Clarence come ;—
Speak suddenly, my lords, are we all friends ?

CLAR. Fear not that, my lord.

WAR. Then, gentle Clarence, welcome unto
Warwick ;

And welcome, Somerset :—I hold it cowardice,
To rest mistrustful where a noble heart
Hath pawn'd an open hand in sign of love ;
Else might I think, that Clarence, Edward's brother,
Were but a feigned friend to our proceedings :
But welcome, Clarence ;⁹ my daughter shall be thine.
And now what rests, but, in night's coverture,
Thy brother being carelessly encamp'd,
His soldiers lurking in the towns about,^a

⁹ *But welcome, Clarence ;*] Old copy, redundantly, — *sweet Clarence.* STEEVENS.

^a *His soldiers lurking in the towns about,*] Old copies — *town.*

STEEVENS.

Dr. Thirlby advised the reading *towns* here ; the guard in the scene immediately following says :

“ ———but why commands the king,

“ That his chief followers lodge in *towns* about him ? ”

THEOBALD.

And but attended by a simple guard,
 We may surprize and take him at our pleasure?
 Our scouts have found the adventure very easy:³

* That as Ulysses,⁴ and stout Diomede,
 * With sleight and manhood stole to Rhesus' tents,
 * And brought from thence the Thracian fatal
 steeds;

* So we, well cover'd with the night's black mantle,
 * At unawares may beat down Edward's guard,
 * And seize himself; I say not—slaughter him,
 * For I intend but only to surprize him,—
 ' You, that will follow me to this attempt,
 ' Applaud the name of Henry, with your leader.

[*They all cry, Henry!*

Why, then, let's on our way in silent fort:
 For Warwick and his friends, God and saint
 George!⁵ [Exeunt.

³ ———— *very easy:*] Here the quartos conclude this speech, adding only the following lines:

Then cry king Henry with resolved minds,
 And break we presently into his tent. STEEVENS.

⁴ *That as Ulysses, &c.*] See the tenth book of the Iliad. These circumstances, however, were accessible, without reference to Homer in the original. STEEVENS.

⁵ ———— *and saint George!*] After the two concluding lines of this scene, which in the old play are given not to Warwick but to Clarence, we there find the following speeches, which Shakspeare has introduced in a subsequent place:

War. This is his tent; and see where his guard doth stand.

Courage, my soldiers; now or never.
 But follow me now, and Edward shall be ours.

All. A Warwick, a Warwick! MALONE.

S C E N E III.

Edward's *Camp*, near Warwick.

Enter certain Watchmen, to guard the king's tent.

- * 1. WATCH. Come on, my masters, each man
take his stand;
- * The king, by this, is set him down to sleep.
- * 2. WATCH. What, will he not to-bed?
- * 1. WATCH. Why, no: for he hath made a so-
lemn vow
- * Never to lie and take his natural rest,
- * Till Warwick, or himself, be quite suppress'd.
- * 2. WATCH. To-morrow then, belike, shall be
the day,
- * If Warwick be so near as men report.
- * 3. WATCH. But say, I pray, what nobleman is
that,
- * That with the king here resteth in his tent?
- * 1. WATCH. 'Tis the lord Hastings, the king's
chiefest friend.
- * 3. WATCH. O, is it so? But why commands the
king,
- * That his chief followers lodge in towns about
him,
- * While he himself keepeth in the cold field?
- * 2. WATCH. 'Tis the more honour, because more
dangerous.
- * 3. WATCH. Ay; but give me worship, and
quietness,
- * I like it better than a dangerous honour.

⁶ *I like it better than a dangerous honour.*] This honest Watchman's
opinion coincides with that of Falstaff. See Vol. XII. p. 396.

STEEVENS.

- * If Warwick knew in what estate he stands,
- * 'Tis to be doubted, he would waken him.
- * 1. WATCH. Unless our halberds did shut up his passage.
- * 2. WATCH. Ay; wherefore else guard we his royal tent.
- * But to defend his person from night-foes?

Enter WARWICK, CLARENCE, OXFORD, SOMERSET, and forces.

- ‘ WAR. This is his tent; and see, [where stand his guard.
- ‘ Courage, my masters: honour now, or never!
- ‘ But follow me, and Edward shall be ours.
- 1. WATCH. Who goes there?
- * 2. WATCH. Stay, or thou diest.
- [Warwick, and the rest, cry all — Warwick! Warwick! and set upon the guard; who fly, crying—Arm! Arm! Warwick, and the rest, following them.

The drum beating, and trumpets sounding, Re-enter WARWICK, and the rest, bringing the king out in a gown, sitting in a chair: GLOSTER and HASTINGS fly.

- ‘ SOM. What are they that fly there?
- ‘ WAR. Richard, and Hastings: let them go here’s the duke.
- K. EDW. The duke! why, Warwick, when, we parted last,³

— when, we parted last,] The word *last*, which is found in the old play, was inadvertently omitted in the folio. MALONE.

Thou call'dst me king?

WAR.

Ay, but the case is alter'd:

' When you disgrac'd me in my embassade,
' Then I degraded you from being king,
And come now to create you duke of York.⁴

Alas! how should you govern any kingdom,
That know not how to use ambassadors;

Nor how to be contented with one wife;

Nor how to use your brothers brotherly;

* Nor how to study for the people's welfare;

Nor how to shrowd yourself from enemies?

* K. EDW. Yea, brother⁵ of Clarence, art thou
here too?

* Nay, then I see, that Edward needs must down.—

' Yet, Warwick, in despite of all mischance,

' Of thee thyself, and all thy complices,

' Edward will always bear himself as king:

* Though fortune's malice overthrow my state,

* My mind exceeds the compass of her wheel.

WAR. Then, for his mind, be Edward England's
king:⁶ [Takes off his crown.

But Henry now shall wear the English crown,

* And be true king indeed; thou but the shadow.—

' My lord of Somerset, at my request,

' See that forthwith duke Edward be convey'd

⁴ *And come now to create you duke of York.*] Might we not read with a slight alteration?

And come to new-create you duke of York. JOHNSON.

⁵ *Yea, brother &c.*] In the old play this speech consists of only these two lines:

Well, Warwick, let fortune do her worst,

Edward in mind will bear himself a king.

Henry has made the same declaration in a former scene.

MALONE.

⁶ *Then, for his mind, be Edward England's king:*] That is, in his mind; as far as his own mind goes. M. MASON.

- ' Unto my brother, archbishop of York.
 ' When I have fought with Pembroke and his fel-
 lows,
 ' I'll follow you, and tell what answer
 ' Lewis, and the lady Bona, send to him :—
 Now, for a while, farewell, good duke of York.
 * K. Edw. What fates impose, that men must
 needs abide ;
 * It boots not to resist both wind and tide.
 Exit King Edward, led out; Somerset with him.
 * OXF. What now remains,⁷ my lords, for us to
 do,
 * But march to London with our soldiers ?
 WAR. Ay, that's the first thing that we have to
 do;
 ' To free king Henry from imprisonment,
 And see him seated in the regal throne. [*Exeunt.*

⁷ *What now remains, &c.*] Instead of this and the following speech, the quartos have:

Clar. What follows now? all hitherto goes well;
 But we must dispatch some letters into France,
 To tell the queen of our happy fortune;
 And bid her come with speed to join with us.

War. Ay, that's the first thing that we have to do,
 And free king Henry from imprisonment,
 And see him seated on the regal throne.
 Come, let's away; and, having past these cares,
 I'll post to York, and see how Edward fares. STEEVENS.

SCENE IV.

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

*Enter Queen ELIZABETH and RIVERS.*⁹

‘ RIV. Madam, what makes you in this sudden change?

‘ Q. ELIZ. Why, brother Rivers, are you yet to learn,

‘ What late misfortune is befall’n king Edward?

RIV. What, loss of some pitch’d battle against Warwick?

‘ Q. ELIZ. No, but the loss of his own royal person.

‘ RIV. Then is my sovereign slain?

‘ Q. ELIZ. Ay, almost slain, for he is taken prisoner;

‘ Either betray’d by falsehood of his guard,

⁹ *Enter — Rivers.]* Throughout this scene the quartos vary in almost every speech from the folio. The variations however are hardly such as to deserve notice. STEEVENS.

They are, however, so marked, as to prove decisively, I think, that either Shakspeare wrote two distinct pieces on this subject at different periods, or that the play as exhibited in the folio was his, and that in quarto the production of a preceding writer. Let the second speech of Rivers be read with this view:

What losse? of some pitcht battaile against Warwicke?

Tush, feare not, faire queene, but cast these cares aside.

King Edward’s noble mind his honour doth display,

And Warwick may lose, though then he got the day.

See also the speech of Clarence quoted in the last note.

MALONE.

Would not this prove rather too much, as a similar inference might be drawn from the two copies of *Romeo and Juliet*, in 1597 and 1599? STEEVENS.

‘ Or by his foe surpriz’d at unawares :
 ‘ And, as I further have to understand,
 ‘ Is new committed to the bishop of York,
 ‘ Fell Warwick’s brother, and by that our foe.
 ‘ Riv. These news, I must confess, are full of
 grief :

Yet, gracious madam, bear it as you may ;
 ‘ Warwick may lose, that now hath won the day.

* Q. ELIZ. Till then, fair hope must hinder life’s
 decay.

* And I the rather wean me from despair,
 * For love of Edward’s offspring in my womb :
 * This is it that makes me bridle passion,
 * And bear with mildness my misfortune’s cross ;
 * Ay, ay, for this I draw in many a tear,
 * And stop the rising of blood-sucking sighs,
 * Lest with my sighs or tears I blast or drown
 ‘ King Edward’s fruit, true heir to the English
 crown.

* Riv. But, madam, where is Warwick then be-
 come ?

‘ Q. ELIZ. I am informed, that he comes towards
 London,

* To set the crown once more on Henry’s head :
 * Guess thou the rest ; king Edward’s friends must
 down.

‘ But, to prevent the tyrant’s violence,
 ‘ (For trust not him that hath once broken faith,)
 ‘ I’ll hence forthwith unto the sanctuary,
 ‘ To save at least the heir of Edward’s right ;
 ‘ There shall I rest secure from force, and fraud.
 ‘ Come therefore, let us fly, while we may fly ;
 ‘ If Warwick take us, we are sure to die. [*Exeunt.*]



W. D. Miller inv.

*Hunt. This way, my lord; for this way
lies the game.*

SHAKSPEARE.

Third Part of

King Henry the Sixth.

ACT. IV. SCEN. V.

A Park near Middleham Castle in Yorkshire. King Edward, Huntman, Closter, etc.

Proscert. So.

*K. Edw. Nay, this way, man, see where
the huntmen stand. —*

S C E N E V.⁹

A Park near Middleham² Castle in Yorkshire.

*Enter GLOSTER, HASTINGS, Sir William Stanley,
and Others.*

‘ GLO. Now, my lord Hastings,³ and sir William Stanley,

‘ Leave off to wonder why I drew you hither,

‘ Into this chiefest thicket of the park.

‘ Thus stands the case: You know, our king, my brother,

⁹ *Scene V.*] In new forming these pieces Shakspeare transposed not only many lines and speeches, but some of the scenes. This scene in the original play precedes that which he has made the fourth scene of this act. MALONE.

² *A park near Middleham* —] Shakspeare follows his authority Holinshed, in the representation here given of king Edward’s capture and imprisonment. But honest Raphael misled him, as he himself was misled by his predecessor Hall. The whole is untrue: Edward was never in the hands of Warwick. RITSON.

³ *Now, my lord Hastings, &c.*] I shall insert the speech corresponding to this in the old play, as the comparison will show the reader in what manner Shakspeare proceeded, where he merely retouched and expanded what he found in the elder drama, without the addition of any new matter:

Glo. Lord Hastings and Sir William Stanley,

Know that the cause I sent for you is this.

I look my brother with a slender train

Should come a hunting in this forest here.

The bishop of York befriends him much,

And lets him use his pleasure in the chase.

Now I have privily sent him word

How I am come with you to rescue him;

And see where the huntsman and he doth come. MALONE.

- ‘ Is prisoner to the bishop here, at whose hands
- ‘ He hath good usage and great liberty;
- ‘ And often, but attended with weak guard,
- ‘ Comes hunting this way to disport himself.
- ‘ I have advertis’d him by secret means,
- ‘ That if, about this hour, he make this way,
- ‘ Under the colour of his usual game,
- ‘ He shall here find his friends, with horse and men,
- ‘ To set him free from his captivity.

Enter King EDWARD, and a Huntsman.

- ‘ HUNT. This way, my lord; for this way lies the game.
- ‘ K. EDW. Nay, this way, man; see, where the huntsmen stand.—
- ‘ Now, brother of Gloster, lord Hastings, and the rest,
- ‘ Stand you thus close, to steal the bishop’s deer?
- ‘ GLO. Brother, the time and case requireth haste;
- ‘ Your horse stands ready at the park corner.
- ‘ K. EDW. But whither shall we then?
- ‘ HAST. To Lynn, my lord; and ship⁴ from thence to Flanders.
- ‘ GLO. Well guess’d, believe me; for that was my meaning.
- ‘ K. EDW. Stanley, I will requite thy forwardness.
- * GLO. But wherefore stay we? ’tis no time to talk.
- ‘ K. EDW. Huntsman, what say’st thou? wilt thou go along?

⁴ ——— and ship —] The first folio has *shipt*. The correction was made by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

* HUNT. Better do so, than tarry and be hang'd.

* GLO. Come then, away; let's have no more ado.

* K. EDW. Bishop, farewell: shield thee from Warwick's frown;

And pray that I may repossess the crown. [*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E VI.

A Room in the Tower.

Enter King HENRY, CLARENCE, WARWICK, SOMERSET, young RICHMOND, OXFORD, MONTAGUE, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Attendants.

* K. HEN. Master lieutenant, now that God and friends

* Have shaken Edward from the regal seat;

* And turn'd my captive state to liberty,

* My fear to hope, my sorrows unto joys;

* At our enlargement what are thy due fees?

* LIEU. Subjects may challenge nothing of their fovereigns;

* But, if an humble prayer may prevail,

* I then crave pardon of your majesty.

* K. HEN. For what, lieutenant? for well using me?

* Nay, be thou sure, I'll well requite thy kindness,

* For that it made my imprisonment a pleasure:

* Ay, such a pleasure as incaged birds

* Conceive, when, after many moody thoughts,

* At last, by notes of household harmony,

* They quite forget their loss of liberty.—

* But, Warwick, after God, thou set'st me free,

* And chiefly therefore I thank God, and thee;

* He was the author, thou the instrument.

* Therefore that I may conquer fortune's spite,
 * By living low, where fortune cannot hurt me;
 * And that the people of this blessed land
 * May not be punish'd with my thwarting stars;
 ' Warwick, although my head still wear the crown,
 ' I here resign my government to thee,
 ' For thou art fortunate in all thy deeds.

* WAR. Your grace hath still been fam'd for
 virtuous;

* And now may seem as wise as virtuous,
 * By spying, and avoiding, fortune's malice,
 * For few men rightly temper with the stars:⁴
 * Yet in this one thing let me blame your grace,
 * For choos'ing me, when Clarence is in place.⁵

* CLAR. No, Warwick, thou art worthy of the
 sway,

* To whom the heavens, in thy nativity,
 * Adjudg'd an olive branch, and laurel crown,
 * As likely to be blest in peace, and war;
 * And therefore I yield thee my free consent.

* WAR. And I choose Clarence only for protector.

* K. HEN. Warwick, and Clarence give me both
 your hands;

* Now join your hands, and with your hands, your
 hearts,

* That no dissention hinder government:
 ' I make you both protectors of this land;
 ' While I myself will lead a private life,
 ' And in devotion spend my latter days,
 To sin's rebuke, and my Creator's praise.

⁴ — *few men rightly temper with the stars:*] I suppose the meaning is, that few men conform their *temper* to their destiny; which king Henry did, when finding himself unfortunate he gave the management of publick affairs to more prosperous hands. JOHNSON.

⁵ — *in place.*] i. e. here present. See p. 133, n. 2. STEEVENS.

WAR. What answers Clarence to his sovereign's will?

* CLAR. That he consents, if Warwick yield consent?

* For on thy fortune I repose myself.

* WAR. Why then, though loath, yet must I be content:

* We'll yoke together, like a double shadow

* To Henry's body, and supply his place;

* I mean, in bearing weight of government,

* While he enjoys the honour, and his ease.

* And, Clarence, now then it is more than needful,

* Forthwith that Edward be pronounc'd a traitor,

* And all his lands and goods be confiscate.⁶

CLAR. What else? and that succession be determin'd.

* WAR. Ay, therein Clarence shall not want his part.

* K. HEN. But, with the first of all your chief affairs,

* Let me entreat, (for I command no more,)

* That Margaret your queen, and my son Edward,

* Be sent for, to return from France with speed:

* For, till I see them here, by doubtful fear

* My joy of liberty is half eclips'd.

* CLAR. It shall be done, my sovereign, with all speed.

⁶ *And all his lands and goods be confiscate.*] For the insertion of the word *be*, which the defect of the metre proves to have been accidentally omitted in the old copy, I am answerable. MALONE.

Mr. Malone's emendation is countenanced by the following passage in *The Comedy of Errors*:

“Left that thy goods too soon *be confiscate*.”

The second folio, however, reads—*confiscated*; and perhaps this reading is preferable, because it excludes the disagreeable repetition of the auxiliary verb—*be*. STEEVENS.

- ‘ K. HEN. My lord of Somerset, what youth is that,
 ‘ Of whom you seem to have so tender care?
 ‘ SOM. My liege, it is young Henry, earl of Richmond.
 ‘ K. HEN. Come hither, England’s hope: If secret powers [*Lays his hand on his head.*
 ‘ Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,
 ‘ This pretty lad’ will prove our country’s blifs.

‘ *This pretty lad* —] He was afterwards Henry VII, a man who put an end to the civil war of the two houses, but no otherwise remarkable for virtue. Shakspeare knew his trade. Henry VII. was grandfather to queen Elizabeth, and the king from whom James inherited. JOHNSON.

Shakspeare only copied this particular, together with many others, from Holinshed: — “whom when the king had a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him: Lo, fuerlie this is he, to whom both we and our adversaries, leaving the possession of all things, shall hereafter give roome and place.” p 678.

This pretty lad will prove our country’s blifs.] Thus the folio. The quartos thus:

Thou, pretty boy, shalt prove this country’s blifs.

STEEVENS.

Holinshed transcribed this passage almost *verbatim* from Hall, whom the author of the old play, as I conceive, copied. This speech originally stood thus:

Come hither, pretty lad. If heavenly powers
 Do aim aright, to my divining soul,
 Thou, pretty boy, shalt prove this country’s blifs;
 Thy head is made to wear a princely crown;
 Thy looks are all replete with majesty:
 Make much of him, my lords, &c.

Henry earl of Richmond was the son of Edmond earl of Richmond, and Margaret, daughter to John the first duke of Somerset. Edmond earl of Richmond was half-brother to king Henry the Sixth, being the son of that king’s mother queen Catharine, by her second husband Owen Teuther or Tudor, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Morimer’s Cross, and soon afterwards beheaded at Hereford.

Henry the Seventh, to show his gratitude to Henry the Sixth for this early presage in his favour, solicited Pope Julius to canonize

' His looks are full of peaceful majesty;
 ' His head by nature fram'd to wear a crown,
 ' His hand to wield a scepter; and himself
 ' Likely, in time, to bless a regal throne.
 Make much of him, my lords; for this is he,
 ' Must help you more than you are hurt by me.

Enter a Messenger.

* WAR. What news, my friend?

* MES. That Edward is escaped from your brother,

* And fled, as he hears since, to Burgundy.

* WAR. Unfavoury news: But how made he escape?

* MES. He was convey'd by Richard duke of Gloster,

* And the lord Hastings, who attended him^s

* In secret ambush on the forest side,

* And from the bishop's huntsmen rescued him;

* For hunting was his daily exercise.

* WAR. My brother was too careless of his charge.—

* But let us hence, my sovereign, to provide

* A salve for any sore that may betide.

[*Exeunt King HENRY, WAR. CLA. Lieu. and Att.*]

* SOM. My lord, I like not of this flight of Edward's:

* For, doubtless, Burgundy will yield him help;

him as a saint; but either Henry would not pay the money demanded, or as Bacon supposes, the Pope refused, lest "as Henry was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, the estimation of that kind of honour might be diminished, if there were not a distance kept between *innocents* and saints." MALONE.

* — attended him —] i. e. waited for him. So, in *Coriolanus*;

"I am attended at the cypress grove." STEEVENS.

- * And we shall have more wars, before't be long.
- * As Henry's late presaging prophecy
- * Did glad my heart, with hope of this young Richmond;
- * So doth my heart misgive me, in these conflicts
- * What may befall him, to his harm, and ours:
- * Therefore, lord Oxford, to prevent the worst,
- * Forthwith we'll send him hence to Britany,
- * Till storms be past of civil enmity.
- * OXF. Ay; for, if Edward repossess the crown,
- * 'Tis like, that Richmond with the rest shall down.
- * SOM. It shall be so; he shall to Britany.
- * Come therefore, let's about it speedily. [*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E VII.⁸*Before York.*

Enter King EDWARD, GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and forces.

K. EDW. Now, brother Richard,⁹ lord² Hastings, and the rest;

⁸ SCENE VII.] This scene in the old play precedes that which Shakspeare has made the sixth of the present act. MALONE.

⁹ Now, brother Richard, &c.] Instead of this and the three following speeches, the quartos read only:

Enter Edward and Richard, with a troop of Hollanders.

Edw. Thus far from Belgia have we past the seas,
And march'd from Raunspur-haven unto York:
But soft! the gates are shut; I like not this.

Rich. Sound up the drum, and call them to the walls.

STEEVENS.

² — lord —] Mr. M. Mason recommends the omission of this word. REED.

— lord Hastings, and the rest;] “Leave out the word *lord*,” says one of our author's commentators. If we do not closely attend to his phraseology and metre, and should think ourselves at liberty

' Yet thus far fortune maketh us amends,
 ' And says—that once more I shall interchange
 ' My waned state for Henry's regal crown.
 ' Well have we pass'd, and now repass'd the seas,
 ' And brought desired help from Burgundy:
 ' What then remains, we being thus arriv'd
 ' From Ravenspurgh haven before the gates of York,³
 ' But that we enter, as into our dukedom?

' GLO. The gates made fast!—Brother, I like not
 this;

* For many men, that stumble at the threshold,

* Are well foretold—that danger lurks within.

* K. EDW. Tush, man! abodements must not
 now affright us:

* By fair or foul means we must enter in,

* For hither will our friends repair to us.

* HAST. My liege, I'll knock once more, to sum-
 mon them.

to substitute modern phraseology and modern metre, almost every line in his plays might be altered.—*Brother*, like many similar words, (*rather, whether, either, &c.*) is here used by Shakspeare, as a monosyllable, and the metre was to his ear perfect. MALONE.

That there is a marked discrimination between ancient and modern phraseology, no man will deny; but, surely, ancient and modern five-foot verses can have no corresponding difference. Where, in general, shall we find more perfect and harmonious metre than that of Shakspeare? His irregular lines are therefore justly suspected of having suffered from omission or interpolation.—As to the latter part of Mr. Malone's note, in which *brother* is said to be used as a monosyllable,—*valeat quantum valere potest*. STEEVENS.

³ *From Ravenspurgh haven before the gates of York,*] We may infer from the old quarto (see note 9, in the preceding page,) that *Ravenspurgh* was occasionally pronounced as a dissyllable—*Raunspurgh*. This line will therefore become strictly metrical, if we read (adopting an elision common to Shakspeare)

“From Ravenspurgh haven 'fore the gates of York.”

STEEVENS.

Enter, on the walls, the Mayor of York, and his Brethren.

- ‘ MAY. My lords, we were forewarned of your coming,
 ‘ And shut the gates for safety of ourselves;
 ‘ For now we owe allegiance unto Henry.
 ‘ K. EDW. But master mayor, if Henry be your king,
 ‘ Yet Edward, at the least, is duke of York.
 ‘ MAY. True, my good lord; I know you for no less.
 ‘ K. EDW. Why, and I challenge nothing but my dukedom;
 * As being well content with that alone.
 ‘ GLO. But, when the fox hath once got in his nose,
 ‘ He’ll soon find means to make the body follow. *[Aside.*
 ‘ HAST. Why, master mayor, why stand you in a doubt?
 Open the gates, we are king Henry’s friends.
 ‘ MAY. Ay, say you so; the gates shall then be open’d. *[Exeunt from above.*
 ‘ GLO. A wise stout captain, and persuaded soon!³
 * HAST. The good old man would fain that all were well,⁴
 * So ’twere not ’long of him: but, being enter’d,
 * I doubt not, I, but we shall soon persuade
 * Both him, and all his brothers, unto reason.

³ ——— *persuaded soon!*] Old copy—*soon* persuaded. This transposition, which requires no apology, was made by Sir T. Hanmer. STEEVENS.

⁴ *The good old man would fain that all were well,*] The mayor is willing we should enter, so he may not be blamed. JOHNSON.

Re-enter the Mayor and two Aldermen, below.

‘ K. EDW. So, master mayor: these gates must
not be shut,

‘ But in the night, or in the time of war.

‘ What! fear not, man, but yield me up the keys;
[*takes his keys.*

‘ For Edward will defend the town, and thee,

‘ And all those friends that deign to follow me.

Drum. Enter MONTGOMERY, and forces, marching.

GLO. Brother, this is sir John Montgomery,
Our trusty friend, unless I be deceiv’d.

‘ K. EDW. Welcome, sir John! But why come
you in arms?

MONT. To help king Edward in his time of
storm,

As every loyal subject ought to do.

‘ K. EDW. Thanks, good Montgomery: But we
now forget

‘ Our title to the crown; and only claim

‘ Our dukedom, till God please to send the rest.

MONT. Then fare you well, for I will hence
again;

I came to serve a king, and not a duke,—

‘ Drummer, strike up, and let us march away.

[*A march begun.*

‘ K. EDW. Nay, stay, sir John, a while; and we’ll
debate,

‘ By what safe means the crown may be recover’d.

‘ MONT. What talk you of debating? in few
words,

‘ If you’ll not here proclaim yourself our king,

‘ I’ll leave you to your fortune; and be gone,

To keep them back that come to succour you :
Why should we fight, if you pretend no title ?

* GLO. Why, brother, wherefore stand you on
nice points ?

* K. EDW. When we grow stronger, then we'll
make our claim :

* Till then, 'tis wisdom to conceal our meaning.

* HAST. Away with scrupulous wit ! now arms
must rule.

* GLO. And fearless minds climb soonest unto
crowns.

* Brother, we will proclaim you out of hand ;

* The bruit⁴ thereof will bring you many friends.

* K. EDW. Then be it as you will ; for 'tis my
right,

* And Henry but usurps the diadem.

MONT. Ay, now my sovereign speaketh like him-
self ;

And now will I be Edward's champion.

HAST. Sound, trumpet ; Edward shall be here
proclaim'd :—

* Come, fellow-foldier, make thou proclamation.

[Gives him a paper. Flourish.

SOLD. [reads.] *Edward the fourth, by the grace of
God, king of England and France, and lord of Ire-
land, &c.*

⁴ *The bruit—*] i. e. noise, report. So, in Preston's *Cambises* :

“ ——— whose manly acts do fly

“ By *bruit* of fame.” ———

See Vol. XI. p. 258, n. 3. STEEVENS.

This French word *bruit* was very early made a denizen of our
language. Thus in the Bible ; “ behold the noise of the *bruit*
is come.”—Jeremiah, x. 22. WHALLEY.

The word *bruit* is found in Bullokar's *English Expositor*, 8vo.
1616, and is defined “ A reporte spread abroad.” MALONE.

MONT. And whoso'er gainsays king Edward's
right,
By this I challenge him to single fight.

[*Throws down his gauntlet.*

ALL. Long live Edward the fourth!

' K. EDW. Thanks, brave Montgomery;—and
thanks unto you all.⁵

' If fortune serve me, I'll requite this kindness.

' Now, for this night, let's harbour here in York:

' And, when the morning sun shall raise his car

' Above the border of this horizon,

' We'll forward towards Warwick, and his mates;

' For, well I wot, that Henry is no soldier.—

* Ah, forward Clarence!—how evil it befits thee,

* To flatter Henry, and forsake thy brother!

* Yet, as we may, we'll meet both thee and War-
wick.—

* Come on, brave soldiers; doubt not of the day;

* And, that once gotten, doubt not of large pay.

[*Exeunt.*

⁵ *Thanks, brave Montgomery;—and thanks unto you all.] Surely, we ought to read—*

Thanks, brave Montgomery;—and thanks to all.

Instead of this speech, the quartos have only the following:

Edw. We thank you all: lord mayor, lead on the way.

For this night we will harbour here in York;

And then as early as the morning sun

Lifts up his beams above this horizon,

We'll march to London to meet with Warwick,

And pull false Henry from the regal throne. STEEVENS.

SCENE VIII.⁶

London. *A Room in the Palace.*

Enter King HENRY, WARWICK, CLARENCE, MONTAGUE, EXETER, *and* OXFORD.

WAR. What counfel, lords? Edward from Belgia,

With hafly Germans, and blunt Hollanders,
Hath pafs'd in fafety through the narrow feas,
And with his troops doth march amain to London;
' And many giddy people flock to him.

* OXF. Let's levy men, and beat him back again.⁷

⁶ *Scene VIII.]* This fcene is, perhaps, the worft contrived of any in thefe plays. Warwick has but juft gone off the ftage when Edward fays:

“ And towards Coventry bend we our courfe,

“ Where peremptory Warwick now remains.” M. MASON.

This fcene in the original play follows immediately after Henry's obfervation on young Richmond, which is in the fixth fcene of the prefent play. MALONE.

⁷ *Let's levy men, and beat him back again.]* This line expreffes a fpirit of war fo unfuitable to the chara^rter of Henry, that I would give the firft cold fpeech to the king, and the brisk anfwer to Warwick. This line is not in the old quarto; and when Henry faid nothing, the firft fpeech might be as properly given to Warwick as to any other. JOHNSON.

Every judicious reader muft concur in Dr. Johnson's opinion, as far as it relates to the fecond of thefe two fpeeches. STEEVENS.

This line is given in the folio to the king, to whom it is fo unfuitable, that I have no doubt it was merely a printer's error. I have not however affigned it to Warwick, and the preceding fpeech to Henry, as Dr. Johnson propofes, becaufe it appears to me fafer to take the old play as a guide, in which, as in Shakspeare's piece, the firft fpeech is attributed to Warwick. The fecond fpeech is given to *Oxford*, and ftands thus:

Oxf. 'Tis beft to look to this betimes;

CLAR. A little fire is quickly trodden out;
Which, being suffer'd, rivers cannot quench.

WAR. In Warwickshire I have true-hearted
friends,

Not mutinous in peace, yet bold in war;
Those will I muster up:—and thou, son Clarence,
‘ Shalt stir, in Suffolk,⁸ Norfolk, and in Kent,
‘ The knights and gentlemen to come with thee:—
‘ Thou brother Montague, in Buckingham,
‘ Northampton, and in Leicestershire, shalt find
‘ Men well inclin’d to hear what thou command’st:—
And thou, brave Oxford, wondrous well belov’d,
In Oxfordshire shalt muster up thy friends.—
My sovereign, with the loving citizens,—
* Like to his island, girt in with the ocean,
* Or modest Dian, circled with her nymphs,—
Shall rest in London, till we come to him.—
Fair lords, take leave, and stand not to reply.—
Farewell, my sovereign.

K. HEN. Farewell, my Hector, and my Troy’s true
hope.⁹

For if this fire do kindle any further
It will be hard for us to quench it out.

Shakspeare, in new-modelling this scene, probably divided this speech between Oxford and Clarence, substituting the line before us in the room of the words—“ ’Tis best to look to this betimes.” I have therefore given this line to Oxford. It might with equal, or perhaps with more propriety, be assigned to Warwick’s brother, Montague. MALONE.

⁸ *Shall stir, in Suffolk, &c.*] The old copy—*stir up*. But the omission of the adverb, which hurts the metre, is justified by the following passages in *King John*, &c:

“ I’ll *stir* them to it:—Come, away, away!”

Again, *ibid*:

“ An Até *stirring* him to war and strife.”

Again, in *King Lear*:

“ If it be you that *stir* these daughters’ hearts

“ Against their father,—.” STEEVENS.

• — my Hector, and my Troy’s true hope.] This line having

- * CLAR. In sign of truth, I kiss your highness' hand.
- * K. HEN. Well-minded Clarence, be thou fortunate!
- * MONT. Comfort, my lord ;—and so I take my leave.
- * OXF. And thus [*kissing Henry's hand.*] I seal my truth, and bid adieu.
- * K. HEN. Sweet Oxford, and my loving Montague,
- * And all at once, once more a happy farewell.
- WAR. Farewell, sweet lords; let's meet at Coventry.
- [*Exeunt WAR. CLAR. OXF. and MONT.*]
- * K. HEN. Here at the palace will I rest a while.
- * Cousin of Exeter, what thinks your lordship?
- * Methinks, the power, that Edward hath in field,
- * Should not be able to encounter mine.
- * EXE. The doubt is, that he will seduce the rest.
- * K. HEN. That's not my fear, my meed hath got me fame.²

probably made an impression on our author, when he read over the old play, he has applied the very same expression to the duke of York, where his overthrow at Wakefield is described, and yet suffered the line to stand here as he found it:

Environed he was with many foes,
And stood against them, *as the hope of Troy*
Against the Greeks.

The two latter lines, as the reader may find in p. 47, were new, no trace of them being *there* found in the old play. Many similar repetitions may be observed in this third part of *King Henry VI.* from the same cause. MALONE.

² — *my meed hath got me fame:*] *Meed* signifies reward. We should read—*my deed*, i. e. my manners, conduct in the administration. WARBURTON.

This word signifies *merit*, both as a verb and a substantive: that

* I have not stop'd mine ears to their demands,
 * Nor posted off their suits with slow delays;
 * My pity hath been balm to heal their wounds,
 * My mildness hath allay'd their swelling griefs,
 * My mercy dry'd their water-flowing tears:
 * I have not been desirous of their wealth,
 * Nor much oppress'd them with great subsidies,
 * Nor forward of revenge, though they much err'd;
 * Then why should they love Edward more than
 me?

* No, Exeter, these graces challenge grace:
 * And, when the lion fawns upon the lamb,
 * The lamb will never cease to follow him.

[*Shout within. A Lancaster! ³ A Lancaster!*
 EXE. Hark, hark, my lord! what shouts are these?

Enter king EDWARD, GLOSTER, and soldiers.

‘ K. EDW. Seize on the shame-fac'd Henry, bear
 him hence,

‘ And once again proclaim us king of England.—
 * You are the fount, that makes small brooks to
 flow;

it is used as a verb, is clear from the following foolish couplet
 which I remember to have read:

“ Deem if I meed,
 “ Dear madam, read.”

*A Specimen of Verses that read the same way backward and
 forward. SIR J. HAWKINS.*

Meed here means *merit*, as it did in a former passage, [p. 45,
 n. 6.] when Edward says of himself and his brothers,

Each one already blazing by our *meeds*. M. MASON,

³ *Shout within. A Lancaster!*] Surely the shouts that ushered
 king Edward should be, *A York! A York!* I suppose the author
 did not write the marginal directions, and the players confounded
 the characters. JOHNSON.

We may suppose the shouts to have come from some of Henry's
 guard, on the appearance of Edward. MALONE.

- * Now stops thy spring ; my sea shall suck them dry,
 * And swell so much the higher by their ebb.—
 ‘ Hence with him to the Tower ; let him not speak.
 [*Exeunt some with king Henry.*
 ‘ And, lords, towards Coventry bend we our course,
 ‘ Where peremptory Warwick now remains : ³
 ‘ The sun shines hot, ⁴ and if we use delay,
 ‘ Cold biting winter mars our hop’d-for hay.
 * GLO. Away betimes, before his forces join,
 * And take the great-grown traitor unawares :
 * Brave warriors, march amain towards Coventry.
 [*Exeunt.*

³ *And lords, towards Coventry bend we our course,
 Where peremptory Warwick now remains!*] Warwick, as Mr. Mason has observed, [p. 158, n. 6.] has but just left the stage, declaring his intention to go to Coventry. How then could Edward know of that intention? Our author was led into this impropriety by the old play, where also Edward says,

And now towards Coventry let’s bend our course,
 To meet with Warwick and his confederates.

Some of our old writers seem to have thought, that all the persons of the drama must know whatever was known to the writers themselves, or to the audience. MALONE.

⁴ *The sun shines hot, &c.*] These lines are formed on two others which are found in the old play in a subsequent scene in the next act, being spoken by Edward, after the battle of Barnet, and just before he sets out for Tewksbury.

—— Come, let us go ;
 For if we slack this fair bright summers day,
 Sharp winters showers will mar our hope, for haie.

I suspect, *haie* was inadvertently written in the manuscript instead of *aye*, and that Shakspeare was thus led to introduce an idea different from that intended to be conveyed by the original author.

MALONE.

The old reading is undoubtedly the true one ; the allusion, being to a well-known proverb—“ Make hay while the sun shines.” See Ray’s Collection, edit. 1768, p. 117. STEEVENS.

A C T V. S C E N E I.

Coventry.

Enter, upon the walls, WARWICK. the Mayor of Coventry, two Messengers, and Others.

WAR. Where is the post, that came from valiant Oxford?

How far hence is thy lord, mine honest fellow?

1. MES. By this at Dunsmore,⁵ marching hitherward.

WAR. How far off is our brother Montague?—Where is the post that came from Montague?

2. MES. By this at Daintry,⁶ with a puissant troop.

Enter Sir John SOMERVILLE.

WAR. Say, Somerville, what says my loving son?

And, by thy guess, how nigh is Clarence now?

SOM. At Southam I did leave him with his forces,

And do expect him here some two hours hence.

[*Drum heard.*

WAR. Then Clarence is at hand, I hear his drum.

* SOM. It is not his, my lord; here Southam lies;

⁵ — at Dunsmore,] The quartos read—at Daintry: i. e. Daintry. STEEVENS.

⁶ — at Daintry,] The quartos read—at Dunsmore.

* The drum your honour hears, marcheth from Warwick.

* WAR. Who should that be? belike, unlook'd for friends.

* SOM. They are at hand, and you shall quickly know.

Drums. Enter king Edward, GLOSTER, and forces, marching.

* K. EDW. Go, trumpet, to the walls, and found a parle.

* GLO. See, how the furly Warwick mans the wall.

WAR. O, unbid spite! is sportful Edward come? Where slept our scouts,⁷ or how are they seduc'd, That we could hear no news of his repair?

* K. EDW. Now, Warwick, wilt thou ope the city gates,

* Speak gentle words, and humbly bend thy knee!—

* Call Edward—king, and at his hands beg mercy,

* And he shall pardon thee these outrages.

* WAR. Nay, rather, wilt thou draw thy forces hence,

Confess who set thee up and pluck'd thee down?—

Call Warwick—patron, and be penitent,

And thou shalt still remain the duke of York.

GLO. I thought, at least, he would have said—the king;

Or did he make the jest against his will?

* WAR. Is not a dukedom, sir, a goodly gift?

* GLO. Ay, by my faith, for a poor earl to give;

⁷ *Where slept our scouts,]* So, in *King John*:

“O, where hath our intelligence been drunk?”

“Where hath it *slept*?” STEEVENS.

* I'll do thee service⁸ for so good a gift.

WAR. 'Twas I, that gave the kingdom to thy brother.

K. EDW. Why, then 'tis mine, if but by Warwick's gift.

WAR. Thou art no Atlas for so great a weight: And, weakling, Warwick takes his gift again; And Henry is my king, Warwick his subj^t.

* K. EDW. But Warwick's king is Edward's prisoner:

And gallant Warwick, do but answer this,—
What is the body, when the head is off?

GLO. Alas, that Warwick had no more forecast,

But whiles he thought to steal the single ten,

The king was slyly finger'd from the deck!⁹

⁸ *I'll do thee service* —] i. e. enroll myself among thy dependants. Cowell informs us that *servitium* is “that service which the tenant, by reason of his fee, oweth unto his lord.” STEEVENS.

⁹ *The king was slyly finger'd from the deck!*] The quartos read — *finely* finger'd.

Finely is subtly. So, in Holinshed's reign of *King Henry VI.* p. 640. “In his way he tooke by *fine* force, a tower,” &c. Again, p. 649, “— and by *fine* force either to win their purpose, or end their lives in the same.”

A pack of cards was anciently term'd a *deck of cards*, or a *pair of cards*. It is still, as I am informed, so called in Ireland. Thus, in *K. Edward I.* 1599:

“—as it were, turned us with duces and trays, out of the *deck*.”

Again, in *The Two Maids of Moreclacke*, 1609:

“I'll deal the cards and cut you from the *deck*.”

Again, in *Selimus Emperor of the Turks*, 1594:

“Well, if I chance but once to get the *deck*,

“To deal about and scuffle as I would.” STEEVENS.

An instance of a *pack* of cards being called a *deck*, occurs in the *sessions paper*, for January, 1788. So that the term appears to be still in use. RITSON.

You left poor Henry at the bishop's palace,²
And, ten to one, you'll meet him in the Tower.

K. EDW. 'Tis even so; yet you are Warwick still.³

* GLO. Come Warwick, take the time,⁴ kneel
down, kneel down:

* Nay, when?⁵ strike now, or else the iron cools.

* WAR. I had rather chop this hand off at a
blow,

* And with the other fling it at thy face,

* Than bear so low a sail, to strike to thee.

* K. EDW. Sail how thou canst, have wind and
tide thy friend;

* This hand, fast wound about thy coal-black hair,

* Shall, whiles the head is warm, and new cut off,

* Write in the dust this sentence with thy blood,—

* *Wind-changing Warwick now can change no more.*

Enter OXFORD, with drum and colours.

* WAR. O cheerful colours! see, where Oxford
comes!

OXF. Oxford, Oxford, for Lancaster!

[OXF. and his forces enter the city.

* GLO. The gates are open, let us enter too.⁶

² — the bishop's palace,] The palace of the bishop of London.
MALONE.

³ — yet you are Warwick still.] Thus the folio. The old play
reads—and yet you are ould Warwick still. MALONE.

⁴ — take the time,] So, in *Macbeth*:
“ — but we'll take to-morrow.”

An expression which Mr. Malone would change for—“ talk to-
morrow.” See Vol. XI. p. 131, n. 9. STEEVENS.

⁵ Nay, when?] This exclamation, expressive of impatience, has
already occurred in *King Richard II.* See Vol. XII. p. 12, n. 2.
STEEVENS.

⁶ The gates are open, let us enter too.] Thus the folio. The
quartos read:

- ‘ K. EDW. So other foes may set upon our backs.
 * Stand we in good array; for they, no doubt,
 * Will issue out again, and bid us battle:
 ‘ If not, the city being but of small defence,
 ‘ We’ll quickly rouse the traitors in the same.
 * WAR. O, welcome, Oxford! for we want thy help.

Enter MONTAGUE, with drum and colours.

MONT. Montague, Montague, for Lancaster!

[*He and his forces enter the city.*

- ‘ GLO. Thou and thy brother both shall buy this
 treason
 ‘ Even with the dearest blood your bodies bear.
 * K. EDW. The harder match’d, the greater vic-
 tory;
 * My mind presageth happy gain, and conquest.

Enter SOMERSET, with drum and colours.

SOM. Somerset, Somerset, for Lancaster!

[*He and his forces enter the city.*

GLO. Two of thy name, both dukes of Somerset,
 Have sold their lives unto the house of York;⁷
 And thou shalt be the third, if this sword hold.

The gates are open, see, they enter in;

Let’s follow them, and bid them battle in the streets.

Edw. No: so some other might set upon our backs,
 We’ll stay till all be enter’d, and then follow them.

STEEVENS.

⁷ Two of thy name, both dukes of Somerset,

Have sold their lives unto the house of York;] The first of these noblemen was Edmund, slain at the battle of Saint Alban’s, 1455. See Vol. XIV. p. 368. The second was Henry his son, beheaded after the battle of Hexham, 1463. The present duke Edmund, brother to Henry was taken prisoner at Tewksbury 1471, and there beheaded, (infra, sc. 5.) his brother John losing his life in the same fight.

RITSON.

Enter CLARENCE, with drum and colours.

WAR. And lo, where George of Clarence sweeps
along,

Of force enough to bid his brother battle;⁸

* With whom an upright zeal to right prevails,

* More than the nature of a brother's love:—

* Come, Clarence, come; thou wilt, if Warwick
calls.

CLAR. Father of Warwick, know you what this
means? [*Taking the red rose out of his cap.*⁹

‘ Look here, I throw my infamy at thee :

I will not ruin my father's house,

Who gave his blood to lime the stones² together,

‘ And set up Lancaster. Why, trow'st thou, War-
wick,

‘ That Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, unnatural,³

⁸ ——— *to bid his brother battle;*] Here the quartos conclude this
speech, and add the following;

Clar. Clarence, Clarence, for Lancaster!

Edw. *Et tu Brute!* wilt thou stab Cæsar too?

A partly, sirra, to George of Clarence. STEEVENS.

This line of the old play, *Et tu Brute*, &c. is found also in *Acco-
lastus his Afterwille*, a poem by S. Nicholson, 1600; and the Latin
words, though not retained here, were afterwards transplanted by
Shakspeare into his *Julius Cæsar*, Act III. MALONE.

⁹ *Taking the red rose out of his cap.*] This note of direction I re-
stored from the old quarto. And, without it, it is impossible that
any reader can guess at the meaning of this line of Clarence :

Look, here, I throw my infamy at thee. THEOBALD.

² ——— *to lime the stones* ———] That is, To cement the stones.
Lime makes mortar. JOHNSON.

³ *That Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, unnatural,*] This line (too
long by a foot) was, in my opinion, interpolated by the players,
who appear the sworn enemies of an ellipsis—Omit the words—
That and is, and no want of them will be felt by such readers as
are well acquainted with ancient language,—*Why, conceivest thou,*
Warwick, Clarence so harsh, &c.—? STEEVENS.

—— *so blunt,*] Stupid, insensible of paternal fondness.

JOHNSON.

' To bend the fatal instruments of war
 ' Against his brother, and his lawful king?⁴
 * Perhaps, thou wilt object my holy oath:
 * To keep that oath, were more impiety
 * Than Jephthah's,⁵ when he sacrific'd his daughter.
 * I am so sorry for my trespass made,
 * That, to deserve well at my brother's hands.
 * I here proclaim myself thy mortal foe;
 * With resolution, wheresoe'er I meet thee,
 * (As I will meet thee, if thou stir abroad,)
 * To plague thee for thy foul misleading me.
 And so, proud-hearted Warwick, I defy thee,
 And to my brother turn my blushing cheeks. —
 ' Pardon me, Edward, I will make amends;
 ' And, Richard, do not frown upon my faults,
 ' For I will henceforth be no more unconstant.

' K. EDW. Now welcome more, and ten times
 more belov'd,
 Than if thou never hadst deserv'd our hate.

' GLO. Welcome, good Clarence; this is brotherlike.

WAR. O passing traitor,⁶ perjur'd, and unjust!

K. EDW. What, Warwick, wilt thou leave the
 town, and fight?

Or shall we beat the stones about thine ears?

' WAR. Alas, I am not coop'd here for defence:
 I will away towards Barnet presently,

⁴ *To bend the fatal instruments of war
 Against his brother, and his lawful king?*] Thus the folio. The
 old play thus:

To lift his sword against his brother's life? MALONE.

⁵ — *Jephthah's, &c.*] See the *Book of Judges*, xi. 40.

STEEVENS.

⁶ — *passing traitor*,] Eminent, egregious; traiterous beyond
 the common track of treason. JOHNSON.

So, in *Othello*:

" — 'twas strange, 'twas *passing* strange." STEEVENS.

And bid thee battle, Edward, if thou dar'st.

K. EDW. Yes, Warwick, Edward dares, and leads
the way:—

Lords, to the field; saint George, and victory;

[*March. Excunt.*]

SCENE II.

A field of battle near Barnet.

*Alarums, and Excursions. Enter King EDWARD,
bringing in WARWICK wounded.*

* K. EDW. So; lie thou there: die thou, and die
our fear;

* For Warwick was a bug, that fear'd us all.⁷—

* Now, Montague, fit fast; I seek for thee,

* That Warwick's bones may keep thine company.
[*Exit.*]

WAR. Ah, who is nigh? come to me, friend, or
foe,

And tell me, who is victor, York, or Warwick?

Why ask I that? my mangled body shows,

* My blood, my want of strength, my sick heart
shows,

⁷ — a bug, that fear'd us all.—] Bug is a bugbear, a terrific
being. JOHNSON.

So, in *Cymbeline*:

“ — are become

“ The mortal bugs of the field.”

Again, in Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579: “ These
bugs are fitter to fear babes than to move men.” STEEVENS.

To fear in old language frequently signifies, to terrify.

MALONE.

in *The Merchant of Venice*:

“ I tell thee, lady, this aspect of mine

“ Hath fear'd the valiant.” STEEVENS.

That I must yield my body to the earth,
 And, by my fall, the conquest to my foe.
 Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,
 Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,
 Under whose shade the ramping lion slept;³
 Whose top branch overpeer'd Jove's spreading tree,
 * And kept low shrubs from winter's powerful wind.
 * These eyes, that now are dimm'd with death's
 black veil,
 * Have been as piercing as the mid-day sun,
 * To search the secret treasons of the world:
 The wrinkles in my brows, now fill'd with blood,
 Were liken'd oft to kingly sepulchres;
 For who liv'd king, but I could dig his grave?
 And who durst smile, when Warwick bent his brow?
 Lo, now my glory smear'd in dust and blood!
 My parks,⁹ my walks, my manors that I had,
 Even now forsake me; and, of all my lands,
 Is nothing left me, but my body's length!^a

³ *Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,*

Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,

Under whose shade the ramping lion slept; &c.] It has been observed to me that the 31st chapter of the prophet *Ezekiel* suggested these images to Shakspeare. "All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young." STEEVENS.

⁹ *My parks, &c.]*

Cedes coemptis saltibus, & demo,

Villâque. HOR

This mention of his *parks* and *manors* diminishes the pathetic effect of the foregoing lines. JOHNSON.

^a — and, of all my lands,

Is nothing left me, but my body's length!]

— *Mors sola fatetur*

Quantula sint hominum corpuscula. JUV.

Camden mentions in his *Remains*, that Constantine, in order to dissuade a person from covetousness, drew out with his lance the length and breadth of a man's grave, adding, "this is all thou shalt have when thou art dead, if thou canst happily get so much."

MALOEN.

Why, what is pomp,³ rule, reign, but earth and
dust?

And, live we how we can, yet die we must.

Enter OXFORD and SOMERSET.

* SOM. Ah, Warwick, Warwick!⁴ wert thou as
we are,

* We might recover all our loss again!

* The queen from France hath brought a puissant
power;

* Even now we heard the news: Ah, could'st thou fly!

* WAR. Why, then I would not fly.—Ah, Mon-
tague,

* If thou be there, sweet brother, take my hand,

* And with thy lips keep in my soul a while!

* Thou lov'st me not; for, brother, if thou didst,

³ ——— *what is pomp, &c.*] This and the following line make no
part of this speech in the old play; but were transposed by Shak-
speare from a subsequent speech, addressed by Warwick to Somer-
set. MALONE.

⁴ *Ah, Warwick, Warwick! &c.*] These two speeches stand
thus in the quartos:

Oxf. Ah, Warwick, Warwick! cheer up thyself, and
live;

For yet there's hope enough to win the day.

Our warlike queen with troops is come from France,

And at Southampton landed hath her train;

And, might'st thou live, then would we never fly.

War. Why, then I would not fly, nor have I now;

But Hercules himself must yield to odds:

For many wounds receiv'd, and many more repaid,

Hath robb'd my strong-knit sinews of their strength,

And spite of spites needs must I yield to death. STEEVENS.

One of these lines, "But Hercules," &c. Shakspeare has trans-
posed and inserted in the Messenger's account of the death of the
duke of York. See p. 47. Not being aware of this, I inadver-
tently marked that line as our author's, which I ought not to have
done. The three following lines have already been spoken by
Warwick in a former scene (see p. 68,) and therefore were here
properly rejected by Shakspeare. MALONE.

- * Thy tears would wash this cold congealed blood,
- * That glews my lips, and will not let me speak.
- * Come quickly, Montague, or I am dead.

‘ SOM. Ah, Warwick, Montague hath breath’d
his last;

- ‘ And to the latest gasp, cry’d out for Warwick,
- ‘ And said—Commend me to my valiant brother.
- ‘ And more he would have said; and more he spoke,
- ‘ Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,⁵
- ‘ That might not be distinguish’d; but, at last,
- ‘ I well might hear deliver’d with a groan,—
- ‘ O, farewell, Warwick!

WAR.

Sweet rest his soul!—

Fly, lords, and save yourselves; for Warwick bids
You all farewell, to meet again in heaven.⁶ [*Dies.*

⁵ *Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,*] The old quarto reads *clamour*, which is undoubtedly right, *i. e.* a clamour of tongues, which, as he says, could not be distinguished. This was a pertinent similitude: the other absurd, and neither agrees with what is predicated of it, nor with what it is intended to illustrate.

WARBURTON.

Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,

That might not be distinguish’d;] That is, like the *noise* of a cannon in a vault, *which*, &c. Shakspeare’s alteration here is perhaps not so judicious as many others that he has made. In the old play, instead of *cannon*, we have *clamour*, and the speech stands thus:

Thy brother Montague hath breath’d his last,
And at the pangs of death I heard him cry,
And say, commend me to my valiant brother;
And more he would have said, and more he said,
Which sounded like a *clamour* in a vault,
That could not be distinguish’d for the sound;
And so the valiant Montague gave up the ghost.

MALONE.

The indistinct gabble of undertakers, while they adjust a coffin in a family *vault*, will abundantly illustrate the preceding simile. Such a peculiar hubbub of inarticulate sounds, might have attracted our author’s notice: it has too often forced itself on mine.

STEEVENS.

‘ ——— to meet again in heaven.] I have supplied the word—

OXF. Away, away,⁷ to meet the queen's great power!

Excunt, bearing off Warwick's body.

S C E N E III.

Another part of the field.

Flourish. Enter King EDWARD in triumph; with CLARENCE, GLOSTER, and the rest.

' K. EDW. Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,

' And we are grac'd with wreaths of victory.⁸

again, for the sake of metre, by the advice of Mr. Ritson, and with countenance from the following line in King Richard III:

"Farewell, until we meet *again* in heaven." STEEVENS.

⁷ *Away, away, &c.]* Instead of this line, the quartos have the following:

Come, noble Somerset, let's take our horse,
And cause retreat be sounded through the camp;
That all our friends remaining yet alive
May be forewarn'd, and save themselves by flight.
That done, with them we'll post unto the queen,
And once more try our fortune in the field. STEEVENS.

It is unnecessary to repeat here an observation that has already been more than once made. I shall therefore only refer to former notes. See p. 15, n. 2. MALONE.

⁸ *Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,
And we are grac'd with wreaths of victory.]* Thus the folio.

The quartos thus:

Thus still our fortune gives us victory,
And girts our temples with triumphant joys.
The big-bon'd traitor Warwick hath breath'd his last,
And heaven this day hath smil'd upon us all. STEEVENS.

It is observable that the expression which Shakspeare had substituted for "*temples engirt with triumphant joys,*" occurs again in *King Richard III*:

"Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths,—."

' But in the mid'st of this bright-shining day,
 ' I spy a black, suspicious, threat'ning cloud,
 ' That will encounter with our glorious sun,
 ' Ere he attain his easeful western bed :
 ' I mean, my lords, — those powers,⁹ that the queen
 ' Hath rais'd in Gallia, have arriv'd our coast.²
 ' And as we hear, march on to fight with us.

* CLAR. A little gale will soon disperse that cloud
 * And blow it to the source from whence it came :
 * Thy very beams will dry those vapours up ;
 * For every cloud engenders not a storm.

* GLO. The queen is valu'd thirty thousand
 strong,
 ' And Somerset, with Oxford, fled to her ;
 ' If she have time to breathe, be well assur'd,
 Her faction will be full as strong as ours.

K. EDW. We are advertis'd by our loving friends
 That they do hold their course toward Tewksbury ;
 ' We, having now the best at Barnet field,
 ' Will thither straight. For willingness rids way ;
 ' And, as we march, our strength will be augmented
 In every county as we go along.—

Again, in his *Rape of Lucrece* :

" Made glorious by his manly chivalry,
 " With bruised arms, and wreaths of victory." MALONE.

⁹ *I mean, my lords,—those powers, &c.*] Thus the folio. The old play thus :

I meane those powers which the queen hath got in France,
 Are landed, and meane once more to menace us. MALONE.

² ——— *have arriv'd our coast,*] So, in *Coriolanus* :

" ——— and now, arriving
 " A place of potency,—."

Again, in *Julius Cæsar* :

" But ere we could arrive the point propos'd,—."

Milton uses the same structure, *Paradise Lost*, B. II.

" ——— ere he arrive
 " The happy isle." STERVENs.

Strike up the drum; cry—Courage! and away.⁴
[*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E IV.

Plains near Tewksbury.

March. Enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD, SOMERSET, OXFORD, and Soldiers.

* Q. MAR. Great lords,⁵ wise men ne'er sit and
wail their losse,

⁴ *Strike up the drum; cry—Courage! and away.*] Thus the folio.
The quartos have the following couplet:

Come, let's go;
For if we slack this faire bright summer's day,
Sharp winter's showers will mar our hope for haie,
Something like this has occurred in p. 162. STEEVENS.

⁵ *Great lords, &c.*] This speech in the old play stands thus:

Queen. Welcome to England, my loving friends of France,
And welcome, Somerset and Oxford too.
Once more have we spread our sails abroad;
And though our tackling be almost consumde,
And Warwick as our maine-mast overthrowne,
Yet, warlike lordes, raise you that sturdie post
That bears the sailes to bring us unto rest.
And Ned and I, as willing pilots should,
For once, with careful mindes, guide on the sterne,
To beare us through that dangerous gulfe,
That heretofore hath swallowed up our friends.

There is perhaps no speech that proves more decisively than the above, that *the First part of the Contention of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of the duke of Yorke, &c.* printed in 1609, were the production of some writer who preceded Shakspeare; and that what are now called *The second and third parts of King Henry VI.* were only a *revisal* and *amplification* of those pieces.

Here we have a thought which in the original play is expressed in eleven lines, expanded by our author into thirty-seven lines.

MALONE.

- * But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.
 ‘ What though the mast be now blown over-board,
 ‘ The cable broke, the holding anchor lost,
 ‘ And half our sailors swallow’d in the flood?
 ‘ Yet lives our pilot still: Is’t meet, that he
 ‘ Should leave the helm, and, like a fearful lad,
 * With tearful eyes add water to the sea,
 * And give more strength to that which hath too
 much;⁶
 * Whiles, in his moan, the ship splits on the rock,
 * Which industry and courage might have sav’d?
 * Ah, what a shame! ah, what a fault were this!
 ‘ Say, Warwick was our anchor; What of that?
 ‘ And Montague our top-mast; What of him?
 ‘ Our slaughter’d friends the tackles; What of these?
 ‘ Why, is not Oxford here another anchor?
 ‘ And Somerset another goodly mast?
 ‘ The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings?
 ‘ And, though unskilful, why not Ned and I
 ‘ For once allow’d the skilful pilot’s charge?
 ‘ We will not from the helm, to sit and weep;

⁶ *With tearful eyes add water to the sea,
 And give more strength to that which hath too much;*] See note
 on *As you like it*, Vol. VIII. p. 208, n. 8. REED.

So, in our author’s *Lover’s Complaint*;

“ Upon whose weeping margent she was set,

“ Like usury, applying wet to wet.”

Again, in *As You like it*:

“ — Thou mak’st a testament

“ As worldlings do, giving the sum of more

“ To that which hath too much.”

Again, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“ With tears augmenting the fresh morning dew.”

So also Spenser, in his *Shepherds Calendar*, 1579:

“ Thou, plenteous spring, hast lull’d me oft asleep,

“ Whose streames my trickling tears did oft augment.”

Of this thought, which we see Shakspeare has so often expressed,
 there is no trace in the old play. See note 5. MALONE.

- * But keep our course, though the rough wind say—
no,
- * From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wreck.
- * As good to chide the waves, as speak them fair.
- * And what is Edward, but a ruthless sea?
- * What Clarence, but a quicksand of deceit?
- * And Richard, but a ragged fatal rock?
- * All these the enemies to our poor bark.
- * Say, you can swim; alas, 'tis but a while:
- * Tread on the sand; why, there you quickly sink;
- * Bestride the rock; the tide will wash you off,
- * Or else you famish, that's a threefold death.
- * This speak I, lords, to let you understand,
- * In case some one of you would fly from us,
- * That there's no hop'd-former mercy with the brothers,
- * More than with ruthless waves, with sands, and
rocks.
- * Why, courage, then! what cannot be avoided,
- * 'Twere childish weakness to lament, or fear.
- * PRINCE. Methinks, a woman⁷ of this valiant
spirit
- * Should, if a coward heard her speak these words,
- * Infuse his breast with magnanimity,
- * And make him, naked, foil a man at arms.
- * I speak not this, as doubting any here:

⁷ *Methinks, a woman &c.*] In this speech there is much and important variation in the quarto:

Prince. And if there be (as God forbid there should)

'Mongst us a timorous or fearful man,
Let him depart before the battles join;
Lest he in time of need entice another,
And so withdraw the soldiers' hearts from us.

I will not stand aloof, and bid you fight,
But with my sword press in the thickest throngs,
And single Edward from his strongest guard,

And hand to hand enforce him for to yield,

Or leave my body, as witness of my thoughts. STEEVENS.

Our author has availed himself of these lines in former scenes
of these plays. MALONE.

' For, did I but suspect a fearful man,
 ' He should have leave to go away betimes;
 ' Lest, in our need, he might infect another,
 ' And make him of like spirit to himself.
 ' If any such be here, as God forbid!
 ' Let him depart, before we need his help.

' OXF. Women and children of so high a courage!
 And warriors faint! why, 'twere perpetual shame.—

' O, brave young prince! thy famous grandfather
 Doth live again in thee; Long may'st thou live,
 To bear his image, and renew his glories!

' SOM. And he, that will not fight for such a hope,
 ' Go home to bed, and, like the owl by day,
 ' If he arise, be mock'd and wonder'd at.⁸

* Q. MAR. Thanks, gentle Somerset; — sweet
 Oxford, thanks.

* PRINCE. And take his thanks, that yet hath
 nothing else.

Enter a Messenger.

' MES. Prepare you, lords,⁹ for Edward is at hand,
 ' Ready to fight; therefore be resolute.

' OXF. I thought no less: it is his policy,
 ' To haste thus fast, to find us unprovided.

⁸ *If he arise, be mock'd and wonder'd at.]* So the folio. The old play thus:

Be hiss'd and wonder'd at, if he arise. MALONE.

⁹ *Prepare you, lords, &c.]* In the old play these speeches stand thus:

Mes. My lordes, duke Edward with a mightie power
 Is marching hitherward to fight with you.

Oxf. I thought it was his policy to take us unprovided,
 But here will we stand, and fight it to the death. MALONE.

SOM. But he's deceiv'd, we are in readinefs.

Q. MAR. This cheers my heart, to fee your forwardnefs.

OXF. Here pitch our battle, hence we will not budge.

March. Enter, at a distance, King EDWARD, CLARENCE, GLOSTER, and forces.

' K. EDW. Brave followers,⁷ yonder ftands the thorny wood,

' Which, by the heavens affiftance, and your ftrength,

' Muft by the roots be hewn up yet ere night.

* I need not add more fuel to your fire,

* For, well I wot, ye blaze to burn them out:

* Give fignal to the fight, and to it, lords.

Q. MAR. Lords, knights, and gentlemen, what I fhould fay,

' My tears gainfay;⁸ for every word I fpeak,

' Ye fee, I drink the water of my eyes.⁹

⁷ K. Edw. *Brave followers, &c.*] This fcene is ill-contrived, in which the king and queen appear at once on the ftage at the head of oppofite armies. It had been eafy to make one retire before the other entered. JOHNSON.

⁸ *My tears gainfay;*] To *gainfay* is to unfay, to deny, to contradict. So, in a *Knack to know a Knave*, 1594:

" ——— feeing my father grants,

" I will not *gainfay*." STEEVENS.

⁹ *Ye fee, I drink the water of my eyes.*] This phrafe is fcriptural. "Thou feedeft them with the bread of tears, and givelt them *tears* to drink." Pfalm lxxxv. 5. STEEVENS.

So, in our author's *Venus and Adonis*:

" Dost thou *drink tears*, that thou provok'ft fuch weeping?"

These paffages were probably recollected by Rowe, when he wrote in his *Jane Shore*:

" Feed on my fighs, and *drink my falling tears*."

So alfo Pope, in the *Epiftle from Eloifa to Abelard*:

" And drink the falling tears each other fhed."

* Therefore, no more but this :—Henry, your sovereign,²

* Is prisoner to the foe ; his state usurp'd,

* His realm a slaughterhouse, his subjects slain,

* His statutes cancell'd, and his treasure spent ;

* And yonder is the wolf, that makes this spoil.

* You fight in justice : then, in God's name, lords,

* Be valiant, and give signal to the fight.

[*Exeunt both Armies,*

S C E N E V.

Another part of the same.

Alarums ; Excursions ; and afterwards a Retreat.

Then Enter King EDWARD, CLARENCE, GLOSTER, and forces ; with Queen MARGARET, OXFORD, and SOMERSET, prisoners.

* K. EDW. Now, here a period of tumultuous broils.

Away with Oxford to Hammes' castle³ straight:

The folio has — *eye* ; but I imagine it was rather an error in the transcriber than an alteration by Shakspeare. The old play reads — *eyes*. MALONE

² — *Henry, your sovereign, &c.*] Instead of this and the following lines, the original play has these:

Henry your king is prisoner in the Tower ;

His land and all our friends are quite distressed,

And yonder stands the wolfe that makes all this,

Then in God's name, lords, together crie saint George.

MALONE.

³ — *to Hammes' castle* —] A castle in Picardy, where Oxford was confined for many years. MALONE.

For Somerset, ⁴ off with his guilty head.

⁵ Go, bear them hence; I will not hear them speak.

OXF. For my part, I'll not trouble thee with words.

⁶ SOM. Nor I, but stoop with patience to my fortune.

[*Exeunt OXFORD and SOMERSET, guarded.*

* Q. MAR. So part we sadly in this troublous world,

* To meet with joy in sweet Jerufalem.

* K. EDW. Is proclamation made, — that, who finds Edward,

* Shall have a high reward, and he his life?

* GLO. It is; and, lo, where youthful Edward comes.

Enter Soldiers, with Prince EDWARD.

* K. EDW. Bring forth the gallant, let us hear him speak :

* What! can so young a thorn begin to prick? —

* Edward, what satisfaction canst thou make,

* For bearing arms, for stirring up my subjects,

* And all the trouble thou hast turn'd me to? ⁵

⁴ *For Somerset,*] Edmond Beaufort, duke of Somerset, the second son of Edmond duke of Somerset who was killed at the battle of Saint Albans. MALONE.

⁵ *And all the trouble thou hast turn'd me to?*] This line was one of Shakspeare's additions to the original play. We have almost the same words in *The Tempest*:

“ — O, my heart bleeds,

“ To think of the teen [i. e. trouble] that I have turn'd you to.”

In the old play Prince Edward is not brought forth as here, but

PRINCE. Speak like a subject, proud ambitious
York!

Suppose, that I am now my father's mouth;
Relinquish thy chair, and, where I stand, kneel thou,
Whilst I propose the self-same words to thee,
Which, traitor, thou would'st have me answer to.

Q. MAR. Ah, that thy father had been so re-
solv'd!

GLO. That you might still have worn the pet-
ticoat,

And ne'er have stol'n the breech from Lancaster.

PRINCE. Let Æsop⁶ fable in a winter's night;
His curriish riddles sort not with this place.

GLO. By heaven, brat, I'll plague you for that
word.

Q. MAR. Ay, thou wast born to be a plague to
men.

GLO. For God's sake, take away this captive
scold.

PRINCE. Nay, take away this scolding crook-
back rather.

K. EDW. Peace, wilful boy, or I will charm
your tongue.⁷

enters with his mother; and after Oxford and Somerset are carried
off, he is thus addressed by the king:

Now, Edward, what satisfaction canst thou make,
For stirring up my subjects to rebellion? MALONE.

⁶ *Let Æsop, &c*] The prince calls Richard, for his crookedness,
Æsop; and the poet, following nature, makes Richard highly in-
censed at the reproach. JOHNSON.

⁷ ——— *charm your tongue.*] The quarto reads — *tame* your tongue.
The former is best. So, in Sir A. Gorges' Translation of *Lucan*,
3614:

“ In hope that thy victorious arme

“ Their dunghill crowing so will *charm*e.” STEEVENS.

CLAR. Untutor'd lad, thou art too malapert,

PRINCE. I know my duty, you are all undutiful:
Lascivious Edward, — and thou perjur'd George, —
And thou misshapen Dick, — I tell ye all,
I am your better, traitors as ye are; —

* And thou usurp'st my father's right and mine.

K. EDW. Take that, the likeness of this railer
here. [Stabs him.

* GLO. Sprawl'st thou? take that, to end thy
agony. [GLO. Stabs him.

* CLAR. And there's for twitting me with per-
jury. [CLAR. Stabs him.

Q. MAR. O, kill me too!

This is the right reading. So, in *Cynthia's Revels*, Mercury says
to Cupid,

"How now, my dancing braggart! *charm your tongue.*"

And, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Lucentio says,

"But I will *charm* him first to keep his *tongue.*"

M. MASON.

The expression which our author substituted, is one that he has
often used. See Vol. XIV. p. 297, n. 4. The meaning is, I will
compel you to be as silent, as you would be, if you were *charm'd*,
if you were deprived of speech by the power of incantment. MALONE.

⁸ — the *likeness of this railer here.* &c.] Thou that resemblest
thy railing mother. JOHNSON.

That is, *thou who art* the likeness, &c. Mr. Rowe and the other
modern editors read — *thou* likeness, and so we should now write;
but the other was the phraseology of Shakspeare's time. So, in
Julius Cæsar:

"The last of all the Romans, fare thee well.

In that passage, as in the present, Mr. Rowe substituted *thou* for *the*,
though Shakspeare has employed the very words he found in North's
Translation of Plutarch. MALONE.

The old copies describe *Edward* as striking the first blow, and
Gloster the next; and, I believe, rightly, for history informs us that
Edward smote the prince with his gauntlet, on which the rest de-
spatch'd him. The words *sprawl'st thou?* seem evidently to be-
long to *Richard*; and I have therefore continued them to him on
the authority of ancient editions, in preference to the allotment of
modern innovation. See edit. 1765, Vol. V. p. 217. STEEVENS.

GLO. Marry, and shall. [*Offers to kill her.*

‘ K. EDW. Hold, Richard, hold, for we have done too much.

GLO. Why should she live, to fill the world with words?⁹

‘ K. EDW. What! doth she swoon? use means for her recovery.

GLO. Clarence, excuse me to the king my brother;

‘ I’ll hence to London on a serious matter:

‘ Ere ye come there, be sure to hear some news,

CLAR. What? what?

‘ GLO. The Tower, the Tower!² [*Exit.*

“ Q. MAR. O, Ned, sweet Ned! speak to thy mother, boy!

‘ Canst thou not speak? — O traitors! murderers! —

They, that stabb’d Cæsar, shed no blood at all,

Did not offend, nor were not worthy blame,

* If this foul deed were by, to equal it.

‘ He was a man; this, in respect, a child;

And men ne’er spend their fury on a child.

‘ What’s worse than murderer, that I may name it?

* No, no; my heart will burst, an if I speak: —

* And I will speak, that so my heart may burst. —

* Butchers and villains, bloody cannibals!

* How sweet a plant have you untimely cropp’d!

‘ You have no children, butchers!³ if you had,

⁹ — with words?] i. e. dispute, contention. So, in a former of these plays:

“ Some words there grew ’twixt Somerset and me.”

STEEVENS.

² *The Tower, the Tower!*] The quarto adds — *I’ll root them out;* but, perhaps, injudiciously: and yet, without these words the metre is imperfect. STEEVENS.

³ *You have no children, butchers!*] The same sentiment is repeated by Macduff, in the tragedy of *Macbeth*; and this passage may serve as a comment on that. BLACKSTONE.

‘ The thought of them would have stirr’d up remorse :

‘ But, if you ever chance to have a child,
Look in his youth to have him so cut off,

‘ As, deathsmen ! you have rid this sweet young prince.³

‘ K. EDW. Away with her ; go, bear her hence perforce.

Q. MAR. Nay, never bear me hence, despatch me here ;

Here sheath thy sword, I’ll pardon thee my death :
What ! wilt thou not ? — then, Clarence, do it thou.

CLAR. By heaven, I will not do thee so much ease.

‘ Q. MAR. Good Clarence, do ; sweet Clarence, do thou do it.⁴

The original play reads :

You have no children, *devils* ; if you had,

The thought of them would *then have stopt your rage*.

This thought occurring also (as Sir William Blackstone has observed) in *Macbeth*, [See Vol. XI. p. 223, n. 2.] may perhaps be urged as a proof of Shakspeare’s being the author of the first draught, as well as of the alterations and additions to it. But how many thoughts and even expressions has he borrowed from preceding writers ? Having (as I suppose) greatly enlarged, and almost new-written, this and the preceding play, the thoughts they contain, whether found in the first copy, or his amplification of it, were as likely to recur in a future piece, as any of those which he has employed in one originally written by himself. In his original plays he frequently borrowed from himself. MALONE.

³ — — *you have rid this sweet young prince.*] The condition of this warlike queen would move compassion, could it be forgotten that she gave York, to wipe his eyes in his captivity, a handkerchief stained with his young child’s blood. JOHNSON.

But surely it does move our compassion, though that be not forgotten. When we see any of our fellow-creatures involved in deep distress, from a just and tender cause we attend only to their present sufferings, and not to their former crimes. M. MASON.

⁴ — — *do thou do it.*] The old play reads — kill me too.

MALONE.

CLAR. Didst thou not hear me swear, I would
not do it?

Q. MAR. Ay, but thou usest to forswear thyself;
'Twas sin before,⁵ but now 'tis charity.

' What! wilt thou not? where is that devil's
butcher,

Hard-favour'd Richard?⁶ Richard, where art thou?
Thou art not here: Murder is thy alms-deed;
Petitioners for blood thou ne'er put'st back.

' K. EDW. Away, I say; I charge ye, bear her
hence.

Q. MAR. So come to you, and yours, as to this
prince! [Exit, led out forcibly.]

' K. EDW. Where's Richard gone?

' CLAR. To London, all in post; and, as I guess,
To make a bloody supper in the Tower.

K. EDW. He's sudden, if a thing comes in his
head.

' Now march we hence: discharge the common
fort

' With pay and thanks, and let's away to London,

⁵ 'Twas sin before,] She alludes to the desertion of Clarence.
JOHNSON.

⁶ ——— where is that devil's butcher,
Hard-favour'd Richard?] Thus all the editions. But *devil's
butcher*, in other terms, I think, is *kill-devil*: rare news for the free-
thinkers, if there were any grounds for depending on it. But
the poet certainly wrote — *devil-butcher*; and the first part of the
compound is to be taken adjectively, meaning execrable, infernal,
devilish. THEOBALD.

Devil's butcher, is a butcher set on by the devil. Either read-
ing may serve without so long a note. JOHNSON.

The folio adds, at the end of this line, the word — *Richard*. But
both the metre and the old play show that it was an accidental
repetition by the transcriber, or compositor. MALONE.

- ‘ And see our gentle queen how well she fares;
 ‘ By this, I hope, she hath a son for me. [*Exeunt.*

S C E N E V I.

London. *A Room in the Tower.*

King HENRY is discovered sitting with a book in his hand, the Lieutenant attending. Enter GLOSTER.

GLO. Good day, my lord! What, at your book so hard?

K. HEN. Ay my good lord: My lord, I should say rather;

‘Tis sin to flatter, good was little better:

Good Gloster, and good devil, were alike.

* And both preposterous; therefore, not good lord.

* GLO. Sirrah, leave us to ourselves; we must confer. [*Exit Lieutenant.*

* K. HEN. So flies the reckless shepherd from the wolf:

* So first the harmless sheep doth yield his fleece,

* And next his throat unto the butcher’s knife. —

What scene of death hath Roscius now to act?⁷

⁷ *What scene of death hath Roscius now to act?*] Roscius was certainly put for Richard by some simple conceited player who had heard of Roscius and of Rome; but did not know that he was an actor in comedy, not in tragedy. WARBURTON.

Shakspeare had occasion to compare Richard to some player about to represent a scene of murder, and took the first or only name of antiquity that occurred to him, without being very scrupulous about its propriety.

I know not, however, that it is proved, on classical authority, that *Roscius*, though generally a comedian, was no occasional actor

GLO. Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind;
The thief doth fear each bush an officer.

K. HEN. The bird, that hath been limed in a
bush,

‘ With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush:⁸
And I, the hapless male⁹ to one sweet bird,
Have now the fatal object in my eye,

in tragedy. Nash, in *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil*, 1592, says, “Not *Roscus* nor *Æsop*, those admired tragedians, that have lived ever since before Christ was born, could ever performe more in action than famous Ned Allen.”

Again, in *Acolastus his Afterwitt*, 1600:

“Through thee each murdering *Roscus* is appointed

“To act strange scenes of death on God's anointed.”

Again, in *Certaine Satyres*, 1598:

“Was penn'd by *Roscio* the tragedian.” STEEVENS.

What scene of death hath *Roscus* now to act?] So, in *Acolastus his Afterwitt*, a poem, 1600:

“What bloody scene hath cruelty to act?”

Dr. Warburton reads *Richard*, instead of *Roscus*, because *Roscus* was a comedian. That he is right in this assertion, is proved beyond a doubt by a passage in Quintilian, cited by W. R. [probably Sir Walter Rawlinson] in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LIV. P. II. p. 886. “*Roscus citator, Æsopus gravior fuit, quod ille comædias, hic tragœdias egit.*” QUINTIL. Lib. XI. c. iii. — But it is not in Quintilian or in any other ancient writer we are to look in order to ascertain the text of Shakspeare. *Roscus* was called a tragedian by our author's contemporaries, as appears from the quotations in the preceding note; and this was sufficient authority to him, or rather to the author of the original play, for there this line is found. MALONE.

⁸ — — misdoubteth every bush:] To *misdoubt* is to suspect danger, to fear. So, in *Humour out of Breath*, a comedy by John Day, 1608:

“*Hip.* Doubt and *misdoubt*! what difference is there here?

“*Ol.* Yes, much: when men *misdoubt*, 'tis said they fear.”

STEEVENS.

⁹ — — hapless male — —] The word *male* is here used in a very uncommon sense, not for the male of the female, but for the male parent: the sweet bird is evidently his son prince Edward.

M. MASON.

Where my poor young was lim'd, was caught, and
kill'd.

‘ GLO. Why, what a peevish fool² was that of
Crete,

‘ That taught his son the office of a fowl?

‘ And yet, for all his wings, the fool was drown'd.³

‘ K. HEN. I, Dædalus; my poor boy, Icarus;
Thy father, Minos, that deny'd our course;

‘ The sun, that fear'd the wings of my sweet boy,

‘ Thy brother Edward; and thyself, the sea,

‘ Whose envious gulf did swallow up his life.

* Ah, kill me with thy weapon, not with words!

‘ My breast can better brook thy dagger's point,
Than can my ears that tragick history. —

* But wherefore dost thou come? is't for my life?

‘ GLO. Think'st thou, I am an executioner?

K. HEN. A persecutor, I am sure, thou art;

‘ If murdering innocents be executing,

‘ Why, then thou art an executioner.

GLO. Thy son I kill'd for his presumption.

² — peevish fool —] As *peevishness* is the quality of children, *peevish* seems to signify *childish*, and by consequence *stupid*. *Peevish* is explained by *childish*, in a former note of Dr. Warburton.

JOHNSON.

Shakspeare employs the word *peevish* in the same sense in *Cymbeline*, where the reader will find many instances of this use of it.

STEEVENS.

This epithet which Shakspeare has so frequently employed, was one of his additions to the original play.

The ordinary signification of *peevish* in our poet's time was *foolish*. See Minshew's Dict. 1617, in v. MALONE.

³ — the office of a fowl?

And yet, for all his wings, the fool was drown'd.] The old play reads:

— the office of a bird?

And yet for all that the poor fowl was drown'd. MALONE.

K. HEN. Hadst thou been kill'd, when first thou
 didst presume,
 Thou hadst not liv'd to kill a son of mine.
 ' And thus I prophecy, — that many a thousand,
 ' Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear ;⁴
 ' And many an old man's sigh, and many a widow's,
 ' And many an orphan's water-standing eye —
 ' Men for their sons, wives for their husbands' fate,⁵
 ' And orphans for their parents' timeless death,⁶ —
 ' Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast born.
 The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign;
 ' The night-crow cry'd, aboding luckless time;
 Dogs how'd, and hideous tempests shook down
 trees;
 The raven rook'd her⁷ on the chimney's top,

⁴ Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear;] Who suspect no part of what my fears presage. JOHNSON.

⁵ Men for their sons, wives for their husbands' fate,] The word — fate was supplied by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

⁶ And orphans &c.] The word — and, which is necessary to the metre, and is wanting in the first folio, was supplied by the second. STEEVENS.

⁷ The raven rook'd her —] To rook, or rather to ruck, is a north-country word, signifying to squat down, or lodge on any thing.

So, in Chaucer's *Knights Tale*, Mr. Tyrwhitt's edit. v. 1310:

“ What is mankind more unto you yhold,
 “ Than is the shepe, that rouketh in the fold? ”

Again, in the *Nonnes Preestes Tale*, ibid. v. 15232:

“ O false morderour, rucking in thy den. ”

Again, in the Preface to Stanyhurst's Translation of *Virgil*, 1582:

“ I cannot devine upon such bookes that happlye rouke in studentes mewes, ” &c.

Again, in the Translation of the IVth Book:

“ Also on the turrets the skrich howle, &c.
 “ — doth ruck, ” &c.

Again, in Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, B. VII. ch. xxxvii.

“ Have lazy wings, be ever lean, in fullen corners ruck: ”

GLO. I'll hear no more;—Die, prophet, in thy
speech; [Stabs him.
For this, amongst the rest, was I ordain'd.

K. HEN. Ay, and for much more slaughter after
this.

O God! forgive my sins, and pardon thee! [Dies.

GLO. What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster
Sink in the ground? I thought, it would have
mounted.

See, how my sword weeps for the poor king's death!

' O, may such purple tears be alway shed

' From those that with the downfall of our house!—

' If any spark of life be yet remaining,²

Down, down to hell; and say—I sent thee thither,

[Stabs him again.

I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear.—

Indeed, 'tis true, that Henry told me of;³

Thou cam'st into the world—

Glo. Die prophet in thy speech;—I'll hear no more.

MALONE.

² *If any spark of life be yet remaining,]* So, in the 6th Book of
Ovid's Metamorphosis, translated by A. Golding, 1587:

“ If any sparke of nature do within thy hart remaine.”

STEEVENS.

³ ——— *that Henry told me of;]* Namely, that my birth was at-
tended with singular circumstances.—Theobald, grounding himself
on this and the two following lines, reads in a former passage—

Thou cam'st into the world with thy legs forward.

for “ how, (says he,) can Richard say, “ Indeed 'tis true that Henry
told me of,” &c. unless we suppose king Henry reproached him
with his preposterous birth?” But surely Henry *has* done so in the
last *ten* lines of his speech, though he is at length prevented by the
fatal stab from mentioning a *further* proof of Richard's being born
for the destruction of mankind. Theobald's addition therefore to
that line, has, I think, been adopted too hastily by the subsequent
editors, and the interruption in the midst of Henry's speech appears
to me not only preferable, as warranted by the old copies, and by
Gloster's subsequent words, [Die, prophet, in thy speech;] but more
agreeable to nature. MALONE.

For I have often heard my mother say,
 I came into the world with my legs forward:
 Had I not reason, think ye, to make haste,
 ‘ And seek their ruin that u surp’d our right?
 The midwife wonder’d; and the women cry’d,
O, Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth!
 ‘ And so I was; which plainly signify’d—
 That I should snarl, and bite, and play the dog.
 ‘ Then, since the heavens have shap’d my body so,
 Let hell⁴ make crook’d my mind, to answer it.
 I have no brother, I am like no brother:
 ‘ And this word—love, which greybeards call di-
 vine,
 Be resident in men like one another,
 And not in me; I myself alone.—
 Clarence, beware; thou keep’st me from the light;
 But I will sort a pitchy day for thee:⁵
 For I will buz abroad such prophecies,
 That Edward shall be fearful of his life;⁶

⁴ *Let hell &c.*] This line Dryden seems to have thought on in his *Oedipus*:

“ It was thy crooked mind hunch’d out thy back,
 “ And wander’d in thy limbs.” STEEVENS.

After this line, we find in the old play the following:

I had no father, I am like no father.

It might have been omitted in the folio merely by accident, (as some lines in the second part of *King Henry VI.* certainly were,) but its restoration is not necessary, for the sense is complete without it.

MALONE.

⁵ *But I will sort a pitchy day for thee;*] But I will choose out an hour whose gloom shall be as fatal to you. To sort is to select. So, in *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1605:

“ ——— for they had sorted leisure.”

Again, in *The Lover’s Melancholy*, 1629:

“ We shall sort time to take more notice of him.”

STEEVENS.

⁶ *For I will buz abroad such prophecies,
 That Edward shall be fearful of his life;*] The quartos add a line between these:



Painted by T. Northcote. R.A.

Engraved in Lorrach to J.J. Meissel by H. Pöschel.

K.E. dw. Come hither Bess, & let me kiss my boy-
 Young Ned for thee, thine uncle, and myself ^{Taking the Child.}
 Have in our armour watch'd the winters night;
 Went all afoot in summer's scalding heat,
 That thou might'st repose the crown in peace;
 And of our labours thou shalt reap the gain.

SHAKSPEARE.

Third Part of
 King Henry 6.th

ACT V. SCENE VII.

Glo. I'll blast his harvest, if your head were laid;
 For yet I am not look'd on in the world.
 This shoulder was ordain'd so thick, to heave,
 And heave it shall some weight, or break my back:
 Work thou the way, - and thou shalt execute.

Aside.

And then, to purge his fear, I'll be thy death.
 ' King Henry, and the prince his son, are gone:
 ' Clarence, thy turn is next; and then the rest;
 Counting myself but bad, till I be best.—
 ' I'll throw thy body in another room,
 And triumph, Henry, in thy day of doom. [Exit.

S C E N E VII.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

*King EDWARD is discovered sitting on his throne;
 Queen ELIZABETH with the infant Prince, CLA-
 RENCE, GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and Others, near
 him.*

K. EDW. Once more we sit in England's royal
 throne,
 Re-purchas'd with the blood of enemies.
 What valiant foemen, like to autumn's corn,
 Have we mow'd down,⁸ in tops of all their pride?
 Three dukes of Somerset, threefold renown'd
 For hardy and undoubted champions:
 Two Cliffords, as the father and the son,
 And two Northumberlands; two braver men

— such prophecies,
 Under pretence of outward seeming ill,
 That, &c. STEEVENS.

This line is not in the quarto printed by W. W. 1600; but it is in the undated quarto, which in fact was printed in 1619, from that printed in 1600 by V. S. MALONE.

* — like to autumn's corn,
 Have we mow'd down,] A kindred image occurs in *King Henry V.* p. 361:

“ — mowing like grass

“ Your fresh-fair virgins, and your flow'ring infants.”

STEEVENS.

Ne'er spur'd their courfers at the trumpet's found :
 ' With them, the two brave bears, Warwick and
 Montague,
 That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion,
 And made the forest tremble when they roar'd.
 Thus have we swept suspicion from our seat,
 And made our footstool of security.—
 Come hither, Bess, and let me kiss my boy :—
 Young Ned, for thee, thine uncles, and myself,
 Have in our armours watch'd the winter's night ;
 ' Went all afoot in summer's scalding heat,
 That thou might'st repossess the crown in peace ;
 And of our labours thou shalt reap the gain.

GLO. I'll blast his harvest, if your head were
 lay'd ;

For yet I am not look'd on in the world.
 This shoulder was ordain'd so thick, to heave ;
 And heave it shall some weight ; or break my back :—
 Work thou the way,—and thou shalt execute. ⁷

[*Aside.*

K. EDW. Clarence, and Gloster, love my lovely
 queen ;
 And kiss your princely nephew, brothers both.

⁷ *Work thou the way, — and thou shalt execute.*] I believe we
 should read :

—— and this *shall execute.*

Richard laying his hand on his forehead says:

Work thou the way ——

then bringing down his hand, and beholding it,

—— and this *shall execute.*

Though *that* may stand, the arm being included in the shoulder.

JOHNSON.

The quartos read :

Work thou the way, and thou shalt execute.

I suppose he speaks this line, first *touching his head*, and then
looking on his hand. STEEVENS.

This is the reading of the old play. The folio reads—and *that*
shalt execute. But as the word *shalt* is preserved, the other must
 have been an error of the transcriber or compositor. MALONE.

CLAR. The duty, that I owe unto your majesty,
I seal upon the lips of this sweet babe.

K. EDW. Thanks, noble Clarence ; worthy brother, thanks.⁸

GLO. And, that I love the tree from whence
thou sprang'st,

Witness the loving kifs I give the fruit :—

To say the truth, so Judas kifs'd his master ;

And cry'd—all hail ! when as he meant
—all harm. } *Aside.*

K. EDW. Now am I seated as my soul-delights,
Having my country's peace, and brothers' loves.

CLAR. What will your grace have done with
Margaret ?

Reignier, her father, to the king of France
Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem,
And hither have they sent it for her ransom.

K. EDW. Away with her, and waft her hence to
France.

And now what rests, but that we spend the time
With stately triumphs,⁹ mirthful comick shows,
Such as besit the pleasures of the court?—
Sound, drums and trumpets!—farewell, four annoy!

For here, I hope, begins our lasting joy. [*Exeunt.*

⁸ *Thanks, noble Clarence! worthy brother, thanks.]* The quarto appropriates this line to the *Queen*. The first and second folio, by mistake, have given it to *Clarence*.

In my copy of the second folio, which had belonged to King Charles the First, his majesty has erased — *Cla*, and written — *King*, in its stead.—Shakspeare, therefore, in the catalogue of his restorers, may boast of a Royal name. STEEVENS.

⁹ *With stately triumphs,]* *Triumphs* are publick shows. This word has occurred too frequently to need exemplification in the present instance. STEEVENS.

THE following SUMMARY ACCOUNT † of the times and places of the several battles fought between the two houses of York and Lancaster, and of the numbers killed on both sides, is given by Truffel, at the end of his *History of England*, a book of little value but in matters of this kind tolerably correct. I have compared his account with our earliest historians, and in some places corrected it by them.

1. THE BATTLE OF SAINT ALBANS, fought on the 23d of May 1455, between Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, and King Henry VI. In this battle the duke of York was victorious, and Henry was taken prisoner.

KILLED, on the royal side 5041, (among whom were Edmond duke of Somerset, Henry earl of Northumberland, Humphrey earl of Stafford, and Thomas lord Clifford;) on the side of the duke of York 600. TOTAL—5641.

2. THE BATTLE OF BLOARHEATH in Shropshire, fought on the 30th of September 1459, between James lord Audley on the part of King Henry, and Richard Nevil earl of Salisbury on the part of the duke of York; in which battle lord Audley was slain, and his army defeated.

KILLED—2411.

3. THE BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON, 20th of July, 1460, between Edward Plantagenet, earl of March, eldest son of the duke of York, and Richard Nevil earl of Warwick, on the one side, and King Henry on the other; in which the Yorkists were victorious.

KILLED—1035, among whom were John Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, Humphrey duke of Buckingham, and Sir William Lucy.

4. THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD, December 30, 1460, between Richard duke of York and Queen Margaret; in which the duke of York was defeated.

KILLED—1801, among whom were the duke of York, Edmond earl of Rutland his second son, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, his base uncles, and the earl of Shrewsbury. Richard Nevil earl of Salisbury was in this battle taken prisoner, and afterwards beheaded at Pomfret.

5. THE BATTLE OF MORTIMER'S CROSS, in Herefordshire, on Candlemas-day, 1460-1, between Edward duke of York, on the one side, and Jasper earl of Pembroke, and James Butler earl of Wiltshire, on the other; in which the duke of York was victorious.

KILLED, 3800, among whom was Sir Owen Tuther or Tudors who married Queen Katharine, the widow of King Henry V.

6. THE SECOND BATTLE OF SAINT ALBANS, February 17, 1460-1, between Queen Margaret on one side, and the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick on the other; in which the queen obtained the victory.

† Mr Ritson, among his *Remarks*, &c. 1783, p. 130, has also enumerated the following battles, &c; but as Mr. Malone's subsequent account of the same occurrences is the more ample of the two, I have adopted it.

KILLED—2303; among whom was Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, whose widow, Lady Grey, afterwards married King Edward the Fourth.

7. THE ACTION AT FERRYBRIDGE, in Yorkshire, March 28, 1461, between lord Clifford on the part of King Henry, and the lord Fitzwalter on the part of the duke of York.

KILLED—230, among whom were lord Fitzwalter, John lord Clifford, and the bastard son of the earl of Salisbury.

8. THE BATTLE OF TOWTON, four miles from York, Palm-Sunday, March 29, 1461, between Edward duke of York and King Henry; in which King Henry was defeated.

KILLED—37,046; among whom were Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lords Nevil, Beaumont, Willoughby, Wells, Roos, Gray, Dacres, and Fitzhugh. The earl of Devonshire was taken prisoner, and soon afterwards beheaded at York.

9. THE BATTLE OF HEDGELEY MOOR, in Northumberland, April 29, 1463, between John Nevil viscount Montague, on the part of King Edward IV. and the lords Hungerford and Roos on the part of King Henry VI: in which the Yorkists were victorious.

KILLED—108, among whom was Sir Ralph Percy.

10. THE BATTLE OF HEXHAM, May 15, 1463, between viscount Montague and King Henry, in which that king was defeated.

KILLED—2024. Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and the lords Roos and Hungerford, fighting on the side of King Henry, were taken prisoners, and soon afterwards beheaded.

11. THE BATTLE OF HEDGECOTE, four miles from Banbury, July 25, 1469, between William Herbert earl of Pembroke, on the part of king Edward, and the lords Fitzhugh and Latimer, and Sir John Conyers, on the part of King Henry; in which the Lancastrians were defeated.

KILLED—5009. The earl of Pembroke and his brother, Richard Widville earl of Rivers, father to King Edward's queen, Sir John Widville, John Tiptoft earl of Worcester, the lords Willoughby, Stafford and Wells, were taken prisoners, and soon afterwards beheaded.

13. THE BATTLE OF STAMFORD, in Lincolnshire, October 1, 1469, between Sir Robert Wells and King Edward; in which the former was defeated and taken prisoner. The vanquished who fled, in order to lighten themselves threw away their coats, whence the place of combat was called *Loscoatfield*.

KILLED—10,000.

14. THE BATTLE OF BARNET, on Easter-Sunday, April 14, 1471, between King Edward on one side, and the earl of Warwick, the marquis of Montague and the earl of Oxford on the part of King Henry VI. in which the Lancastrians were defeated.

KILLED—10,300 ; among whom were the earl of Warwick, the marquis of Montague, the lord Cromwell, and the son and heir of lords Say.

In a letter which was written at London four days after the battle of Barnet, the total number killed on both sides is said to have been “ more than *a thousand*.” *Passon Letters*, Vol. II. p. 65. Fabian, the nearest contemporary historian, says 1500.

The custom among our old writers of using Arabick numerals, has been the cause of innumerable errors, the carelessness of a transcriber or printer by the addition of a cipher converting hundreds into thousands. From the inaccuracy in the present instance we have ground to suspect that the numbers said to have fallen in the other battles between the houses of York and Lancaster, have been exaggerated. Sir John Passon, who was himself at the battle of Barnet, was probably correct.

15. THE BATTLE OF TEWKSBURY, May 3, 1471, between King Edward and Queen Margaret, in which the queen was defeated, and she and her son Prince Edward were taken prisoners.

On the next day the prince was killed by King Edward and his brothers, and Edmond duke of Somerset beheaded.

KILLED—3,032. Shortly afterwards, in an action between the bastard son of lord Falconbridge and some Londoners, 1092 persons were killed.

16. THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH, in Leicestershire, August 22, 1485, between King Richard III. and Henry earl of Richmond, afterwards King Henry VII. in which King Richard was defeated and slain.

KILLED, on the part of Richard, 4,013, among whom were John duke of Norfolk, and Walter lord Ferrers ; on the part of Richmond, 181.

The TOTAL NUMBER of persons who fell in this contest, was NINETY-ONE THOUSAND AND TWENTY-SIX. MALONE.

The three parts of *King Henry VI.* are suspected, by Mr. Theobald, of being supposititious, and are declared, by Dr. Warburton, to be certainly not Shakspeare's. Mr. Theobald's suspicion arises from some obsolete words ; but the phraseology is like the rest of our author's style, and single words, of which however I do not observe more than two, can conclude little.

Dr. Warburton gives no reason, but I suppose him to judge upon deeper principles and more comprehensive views, and to draw his opinion from the general effect and spirit of the composition, which he thinks inferior to the other historical plays.

From mere inferiority nothing can be inferred ; in the productions of wit there will be inequality. Sometimes judgment will err, and sometimes the matter itself will defeat the artist. Of

every author's works one will be the best, and one will be the worst. The colours are not equally pleasing, nor the attitudes equally graceful, in all the pictures of Titian or Reynolds.

Dissimilitude of style and heterogeneity of sentiment, may sufficiently show that a work does not really belong to the reputed author. But in these plays no such marks of spuriousness are found. The diction, the versification, and the figures, are Shakspeare's. These plays, considered, without regard to characters and incidents, merely as narratives in verse, are more happily conceived and more accurately finished than those of *King John*, *Richard II.* or the tragic scenes of *King Henry IV.* and *V.* If we take these plays from Shakspeare, to whom shall they be given? What author of that age had the same easiness of expression and fluency of numbers?

Having considered the evidence given by the plays themselves, and found it in their favour, let us now enquire what corroboration can be gained from other testimony. They are ascribed to Shakspeare by the first editors, whose attestation may be received in questions of fact, however unskilfully they superintended their edition. They seem to be declared genuine by the voice of Shakspeare himself, who refers to the second play in his epilogue to *King Henry V.* and apparently connects the first act of *King Richard III.* with the last of the third part of *King Henry VI.* If it be objected that the plays were popular, and that therefore he alluded to them as well known; it may be answered, with equal probability, that the natural passions of a poet would have disposed him to separate his own works from those of an inferior hand. And, indeed, if an author's own testimony is to be overthrown by speculative criticism, no man can be any longer secure of literary reputation.

Of these three plays I think the second the best. The truth is, that they have not sufficient variety of action, for the incidents are too often of the same kind; yet many of the characters are well discriminated. King Henry, and his queen, king Edward, the duke of Gloucester, and the earl of Warwick, are very strongly and distinctly painted.

The old copies of the two latter parts of *King Henry VI.* and of *King Henry V.* are so apparently imperfect and mutilated, that there is no reason for supposing them the first draughts of Shakspeare. I am inclined to believe them copies taken by some auditor who wrote down, during the representation, what the time would permit, then perhaps filled up some of his omissions at a second or third hearing, and, when he had by this method formed something like a play, sent it to the printer. JOHNSON.

So, Heywood, in the Preface to his *Rape of Lucrece*, (fourth impression), 1630:

“ ——— for though some have used a double sale of their labours first to the stage and after to the press, for my own part I here

proclaim myself ever faithful to the first, and never guilty of the last: yet since some of my plays have (unknown to me, and without any of my direction) accidentally come into the printer's hands, and therefore so corrupt and mangled (*copied only by the ear*), that I have been as unable to know them as ashamed to challenge them, this therefore I was the willinger," &c. COLLINS.

There is another circumstance which may serve to strengthen Dr. Johnson's supposition, viz. that most of the fragments of Latin verses, omitted in the quartos, are to be found in the folio; and when any of them are inserted in the former, they are shamefully corrupted and misspelt. The auditor, who understood English, might be unskill'd in any other language. STEEVENS.

I formerly coincided with Dr. Johnson on this subject, at a time when I had examined the two old plays published in quarto under the title of *The Whole Contention of the two famous houses of York and Lancaster*, in two parts, with less attention than I have lately done. That dramas were sometimes imperfectly taken down in the theatre, and afterwards published in a very mutilated state, is proved decisively by the prologue to a play entitled *If you know not me you know Nobody*, by Thomas Heywood, 1623:

" — — 'Twas ill nurs'd,
 " And yet receiv'd as well perform'd at first;
 " Grac'd and frequented; for the cradle age
 " Did throng the seats, the boxes, and the stage,
 " So much, that some by *stenography* drew
 " The plot, *put it in print*, scarce one word true:
 " And in that lameness it has limp'd so long,
 " The author now, to vindicate that wrong,
 " Hath took the pains upright upon its feet
 " To teach it walk;—so please you, sit and see it."

But the old plays in quarto, which have been hitherto supposed to be imperfect representations of the second and third parts of *K. Henry VI.* are by no means mutilated and imperfect. The scenes are as well connected, and the versification as correct, as that of most of the other dramas of that time. The fact therefore, which Heywood's prologue ascertains, throws no light upon the present contested question. Such observations as I have made upon it, I shall subjoin in a distinct Essay on the subject. MALONE.

I have already given some reasons, why I cannot believe, that these plays were *originally* written by Shakspeare. The question, who did write them? is, at best, but an argument *ad ignorantiam*. We must remember, that very many old plays are *anonymous*; and that *play-writing* was scarcely yet thought reputable: nay, some authors express for it great horrors of repentance.—I will attempt, however, at some future time, to answer this question: the disquisition of it would be too long for this place.

One may at least argue, that the plays were not written by Shakspeare, from Shakspeare himself. The *Chorus* at the end of *K. Henry V.* addresses the audience

“ ——— For *their sake*,

“ In your fair minds let *this acceptance take*.”

But it could be neither agreeable to the poet's judgment or his modesty, to recommend his new play from the merit and success of *King Henry VI.*—His claim to indulgence is, that, though *bending* and unequal to the task, he has ventured to *pursue the story*; and this sufficiently accounts for the connexion of the whole, and the allusions of particular passages. FARMER.

It is seldom that Dr. Farmer's arguments fail to enforce conviction; but here, perhaps, they may want somewhat of their usual weight. I think that Shakspeare's bare mention of these pieces is a sufficient proof they were his. That they were so, could be his only motive for inferring benefit to himself from the spectator's recollection of their past success. For the sake of three historical dramas of mine which have already afforded you entertainment, let me (says he) intreat your indulgence to a fourth. Surely this was a stronger plea in his behalf, than any arising from the kind reception which another might have already met with in the same way of writing. Shakspeare's claim to favour is founded on his having previously given pleasure in the course of three of those histories; because he is a *bending*, supplicatory author, and not a literary bully, like Ben Jonson; and because he has ventured to exhibit a series of annals in a suite of plays, an attempt which 'till then had not received the sanction of the stage.

I hope Dr. Farmer did not wish to exclude the three dramas before us, together with *The Taming of a Shrew*, from the number of those produced by our author, on account of the Latin quotations to be found in them. His proofs of Shakspeare's want of learning are too strong to stand in need of such a support.

STEEVENS.

Though the objections which have been raised to the genuineness of the *three plays of Henry the sixth* have been fully considered and answered by Dr. Johnson, it may not be amiss to add here, from a contemporary writer, a passage which not only points at Shakspeare as the author of them, but also shows, that, however meanly we may now think of them in comparison with his latter productions, they had, at the time of their appearance, a sufficient degree of excellence to alarm the jealousy of the older playwrights. The passage, to which I refer, is in a pamphlet, entitled, *Greene's Groatsworth of Witte*, supposed to have been written by that voluminous author, Robert Greene, M. A. and said, in the title-page, to be *published at his dying request*; probably, about 1592. The conclusion of this piece is an address to his brother poets, to

diffuade them from writing any more for the stage, on account of the ill treatment which they were used to receive from the players. It begins thus: *To those gentlemen, his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making playes, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, &c.* After having addressed himself particularly to Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Lodge, (as I guess from circumstances, for their names are not mentioned;) he goes on to a third (perhaps George Peele); and having warned him against depending on so mean a stay as the players, he adds: *Yes, trust them not: for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his tygres head wrapt in a players hyde, supposes hee is as well able to bombaste out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes fac totum is, in his own conceit, the onely Shake-scene in a countrey.* There can be no doubt, I think, that *Shake-scene* alludes to Shakspeare; or that *his tygres head wrapt in a players hyde* is a parodie upon the following line of York's speech to Margaret, *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, A& I. sc. iv:

“ Oh tygres heart, wrapt in a woman's hide.” TYRWHITT.

DISSERTATION
ON
THE THREE PARTS
OF
KING HENRY VI.

THE CONTENTS.

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A
D I S S E R T A T I O N
O N
T H E T H R E E P A R T S
O F
K I N G H E N R Y V I.
T E N D I N G T O S H E W

That those Plays were *not* written ORIGINALLY by

S H A K S P E A R E.

SEVERAL passages in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* appearing evidently to be of the hand of Shakspeare, I was long of opinion that the *three* historical dramas which are the subject of the present disquisition, were properly ascribed to him; not then doubting that the whole of these plays was the production of the same person. But a more minute investigation of the subject, into which I have been led by the revision of all our author's works, has convinced me, that, though the premises were true, my conclusion was too hastily drawn; for though the hand of Shakspeare is unquestionably found in the two latter of these plays, it does not therefore necessarily follow, that they were *originally* and *entirely* composed by him. My thoughts upon this point have already been intimated in the foregoing notes; but it is now necessary for me to state my opinion more particularly, and to lay before the reader the grounds on which, after a very careful inquiry, it has been formed.

What at present I have chiefly in view is, to account for the visible *inequality* in these pieces; many traits of Shakspeare being clearly discernible in them, while the inferior parts are not merely unequal to the rest, (from which no certain conclusion can be drawn,) but of quite a different complexion from the inferior parts of our author's undoubted performances.

My hypothesis then is, that *The First Part of King Henry VI.* as it now appears, (of which no quarto copy is extant,) was the

entire or nearly the entire production of some ancient dramatist; that *The Whole Contention of the two Houses of York and Lancaster, &c.* written probably before the year 1590, and printed in quarto, in 1600, was also the composition of some writer who preceded Shakspeare; and that from this piece, which is in two parts, (the former of which is entitled, *The first Part of the Contention of the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good duke Humphrey, &c.* and the latter, *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt,*) our poet formed the two plays, entitled *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* as they appear in the first folio edition of his works.

Mr. Upton has asked, "How does the painter distinguish copies from originals but by manner and style? And have not authors their peculiar style and manner, from which a true critick can form as unerring a judgment as a painter?" Dr. Johnson, though he has shewn, with his usual acuteness, that "this illustration of the critick's science will not prove what is desired," acknowledges in a preceding note, that "dissimilitude of style and heterogeneity of sentiment may sufficiently shew that a work does not really belong to the reputed author. But in these plays (he adds) no such marks of spuriousness are found. The diction, the versification, and the figures, are Shakspeare's"—. By these criterions then let us examine *The First Part of King Henry VI.* (for I choose to consider that piece separately;) and if the diction, the figures, or rather the allusions, and the versification of that play, (for these are our surest guides) shall appear to be different from the other two parts, *as they are exhibited in the folio*, and from our author's other plays, we may fairly conclude that he was not the writer of it.

I. With respect to the diction and the allusions, which I shall consider under the same head, it is very observable that in *The First Part of King Henry VI.* there are more allusions to mythology, to classical authors, and to ancient and modern history, than, I believe, can be found in any one piece of our author's written on an English story; and that these allusions are introduced very much in the same manner as they are introduced in the plays of Greene, Peele, Lodge, and other dramatists who preceded Shakspeare; that is, they do not naturally arise out of the subject, but seem to be inserted merely to shew the writer's learning.* Of these the following are the most remarkable.

* --- to shew the writer's learning.] This appearance of pedantry, if not assumed in imitation of Greene &c. (See Vol. XIV. p. 3,) would only induce me to think that the piece now under consideration might be the work of a

1. Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens,
So in the earth, to this day is not known.
2. A far more glorious star thy soul will make
Than Julius Cæsar, or bright—

This blank, Dr. Johnson with the highest probability conjectures, should be filled up with “Berenice;” a word that the transcriber or compositor probably could not make out. In the same manner he left a blank in a subsequent passage for the name of “Nero,” as is indubitably proved by the following line, which ascertains the omitted word. See N^o. 6.

3. Was Mahomet inspired with a dove?
4. Helen, the mother of Great Constantine,
Nor yet Saint Philip’s daughters, were like thee.
5. Froissard, a countryman of ours, records, &c.
6. ——— and, like thee, [Nero,]

Play on the lute, beholding the towns burning.

[In the original copy there is a blank where the word *Nero* is now placed.]

7. The spirit of deep prophecy she hath,
Exceeding the nine Sybils of old Rome.
8. A witch, by fear, not force, like Hannibal,
Drives back our troops—.
9. Divinest creature, Astræa’s daughter—.
10. ——— Adonis’ gardens,
That one day bloom’d, and fruitful were the next.
11. A statelier pyramis to her I’ll rear,
Than Rhodope’s, or Memphis’, ever was.
12. ——— an urn more precious
Than the rich-jewel’d coffer of Darius.
13. I shall as famous be by this exploit,
As Scythian Thomyris, by Cyrus’ death.
14. I thought I should have seen some Hercules,
A second Hector, for his grim aspect.
15. Nestor-like aged, in an age of care.
16. Then follow thou thy desperate fire of Crete,
Thou Icarus.
17. Where is the great Alcides of the field?
18. Now am I like that proud insulting ship,
That Cæsar and his fortune bare at once.

juvenile writer; and why not one of Shakspeare’s earliest dramatick effusions? The first themes composed by schoolboys are always stuffed with a trivial parade of literature, such as is found in antiquated plays, some of which, our author, while yet immature, might have taken for his model.

STEEVENS.

19. Is Talbot slain ; the Frenchman's only scourge,
Your kingdom's terror, and black Nemesis?
20. Thou may'st not wander in that labyrinth ;
There Minotaurs, and ugly treasons lurk.
21. See how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,
As if, with Circe, she would change my shape.
22. ——— thus he goes,
As did the youthful Paris once to Greece ;
With hope to find the like event in love.

Of particular expressions there are many in this play, that seem to me more likely to have been used by the authors already named, than by Shakspeare ; but I confess, with Dr. Johnson, that single words can conclude little. However, I will just mention that the words *proditor* and *immanity*, which occur in this piece, are not, I believe, found in any of Shakspeare's undisputed performances : not to insist on a direct Latinism, *pile-esteemed*, which I am confident was the word intended by the author, though, being a word of his own formation, the compositor has printed—*pil'd-esteem'd*, instead of it.†

The versification of this play appears to me clearly of a different colour from that of all our author's genuine dramas, while at the same time it resembles that of many of the plays produced before the time of Shakspeare.

In all the tragedies written before his time, or just when he commenced author, a certain stately march of versification is very observable. The sense concludes or pauses almost uniformly at the end of every line ; and the verse has scarcely ever a redundant syllable. As the reader may not have any of these pieces at hand, (by the possession of which, however, his library would not be much enriched,) I shall add a few instances,—the first that occur :

- “ Most loyal lords, and faithful followers,
“ That have with me, unworthy general,
“ Passed the greedy gulph of Ocean,
“ Leaving the confines of fair Italy,
“ Behold, your Brutus draweth nigh his end,
“ And I must leave you, though against my will:
“ My sinews shrink, my numbed senses fail,
“ A chilling cold possesseth all my bones ;
“ Black ugly death, with visage pale and wan,
“ Presents himself before my dazzled eyes,
“ And with his dart prepared is to strike.” *Lochrine*, 1595.
“ My lord of Gloucester, and lord Mortimer,
“ To do you honour in your sovereign's eyes,
“ That, as we hear, is newly come aland,

† See *King Henry VI.* P. 1. Vol. XIV. p. 37, n. 6.

" From Palestine, with all his men of war,
 " (The poor remainder of the royal fleet,
 " Preserv'd by miracle in Sicil road,) -
 " Go mount your courfers, meet him on the way:
 " Pray him to spur his steed, minutes and hours,
 " Untill his mother see her princely son,
 " Shining in glory of his safe return."

Edward I. by George Peele, 1593.

" Then go thy ways, and clime up to the clouds,
 " And tell Apollo that Orlando sits
 " Making of verses for Angelica.
 " And if he do deny to send me down
 " The shirt which Deianira sent to Hercules,
 " To make me brave upon my wedding day,
 " Tell him I'll pass the Alps, and up to Meroe,
 " (I know he knows that watry lakish hill)
 " And pull the harp out of the minstrels hands,
 " And pawne it unto lovely Proserpine,
 " That she may fetch the faire Angelica."

*Orlando Furioso, by Robert Greene, printed in
1599; written before 1592.*

" The work that Ninus rear'd at Babylon,
 " The brazen walls fram'd by Semiramis,
 " Carv'd out like to the portal of the sunne,
 " Shall not be such as rings the English strand
 " From Dover to the market-place of Rye."

* * *

" To plain our questions, as Apollo did."

* * *

" Facile and debonaire in all his deeds,
 " Proportion'd as was Paris, when in gray,
 " He courted Oenon in the vale by Troy."

* * *

" Who dar'd for Edward's sake cut through the seas,
 " And venture as Agenor's damsel through the deepe."

* * *

" England's rich monarch, brave Plantagenet,
 " The Pyren mountains swelling above the clouds,
 " That ward this wealthy Castile in with walls,
 " Could not detain the beauteous Eleanor;
 " But hearing of the fame of Edward's youth,
 " She dar'd to brave Neptunus' haughty pride,
 " And brave the brunt of froward Eolus."

* * *

" Daphne, the damsel that caught Phœbus fast,
 " And lock'd him in the brightness of her looks,
 " Was not so beauteous in Apollo's eyes,
 " As is fair Margaret, to the Lincoln earl."

* * *

“ We must lay plots for stately tragedies,
 “ Strange comick shews, such as proud Roscius
 “ Vaunted before the Roman emperours.”

* * *

“ Lacy, thou can’st not shrowd thy traiterous thoughts,
 “ Nor cover, as did Cassius, all his wiles;
 “ For Edward hath an eye that looks as far
 “ As Lynceus from the shores of Greecia.”

* * *

“ Pardon, my lord : If Jove’s great royalty
 “ Sent me such presents as to Danae;
 “ If Phœbus tied to Latona’s webs,
 “ Came courting from the beauty of his lodge;
 “ The dulcet tunes of frolick Mercurie,
 “ Nor all the wealth heaven’s treasury affords
 “ Should make me leave lord Lacy or his love.”

* * *

“ What will thou do?—
 “ Shew thee the tree leav’d with refined gold,
 “ Whereon the fearful dragon held his seate,
 “ That watch’d the garden call’d Hesperides,
 “ Subdued and wonne by conquering Hercules.”

* * *

“ ————— Margaret,
 “ That overshines our damsels, as the moone
 “ Darkens the brightest sparkles of the night.”

* * *

“ Should Paris enter in the courts of Greece,
 “ And not lie fetter’d in fair Helen’s looks?
 “ Or Phœbus scape those piercing amorists,
 “ That Daphne glanced at his deitie?
 “ Can Edward then sit by a flame and freeze,
 “ Whose heats put Hellen and fair Daphne down?”

*The honorable Historie of Friar Bacon. &c. by Robert
 Greene; written before 1592, printed in 1598.*

“ King. Thus far, ye English Peers, have we display’d
 “ Our waving ensigus with a happy war;
 “ Thus nearly hath our furious rage reveng’d
 “ My daughter’s death upon the traiterous Scot;
 “ And now before Dunbar our camp is pitch’d,
 “ Which if it yield not to our compromise,
 “ The place shall furrow where the palace stood,
 “ And fury shall envy so high a power,
 “ That mercy shall be banish’d from our sword.
 “ Doug. What seeks the English king?”

" King. Scot, ope those gates, and let me enter in.
 " Submit thyself and thine unto my grace,
 " Or I will put each mother's son to death,
 " And lay this city level with the ground."

James IV. by Robert Greene, printed in 1598;
 written before 1592.

" Valeria, attend; I have a lovely bride
 " As bright as is the heaven chrystalline;
 " As faire as is the milke-white way of Jove,
 " As chaste as Phœbe in her summer sports,
 " As soft and tender as the azure downe
 " That circles Citherea's silver doves;
 " Her do I meane to make my lovely bride,
 " And in her bed to breathe the sweet content
 " That I, thou know'st, long time have aimed at."

The Taming of a Shrew, written before 1594.

" Pol. Faire Emilia, summers bright sun queene,
 " Brighter of hew than is the burning clime
 " Where Phœbus in his bright equator sits,
 " Creating gold and pretious minerals;
 " What would Emilia doe, if I were fond
 " To leave faire Athens, and to range the world?"

" Emil. Should thou assay to scale the seate of Jove,
 " Mounting the subtile airie regions,
 " Or be snatcht up, as erst was Ganymede,
 " Love should give wings unto my swift desires,
 " And prune my thoughts, that I would follow thee,
 " Or fall and perish as did Icarus." *Ibid.*

" Barons of England, and my noble lords,
 " Though God and fortune have bereft from us
 " Victorious Richard, scourge of infidels,
 " And clad this land in stole of dismal hue,
 " Yet give me leave to joy, and joy you all,
 " That from this wombe hath sprung a second hope,
 " A king that may in rule and virtue both
 " Succeed his brother in his emperie."

The troublesome raigne of King John, 1591.

" — as sometimes Phaeton,
 " Mistrusting silly Merops for his fire —." *Ibid.*
 " As cursed Nero with his mother did,
 " So I with you, if you resolve me not." *Ibid.*

* * *

" Peace, Arthur, peace! thy mother makes thee wings,
 " To soar with peril after Icarus." *Ibid.*

* * *

- "How doth Aleſto whisper in my ears,
 "Delay not, Philip, kill the villaine ſtraight." *Ibid.*
 * * *
 "Philippus atavis edite regibus,
 "What ſaiſt thou, Philip, ſprung of ancient kings,—
 "Quo me rapit tempeſtas?" *Ibid.*
 * * *
 "Morpheus, leave here thy ſilent Ebon cave,
 "Beſiege his thoughts with diſmal phantaſies;
 "And ghafly objects of pale threatning Mors.
 "Affright him every minute with ſtern looks." *Ibid.*
 * * *
 "Here is the ranſome that allaies his rage,
 "The firſt freehold that Richard left his ſonne,
 "With which I ſhall ſurprize his living ſpies,
 "As Hector's ſtatue did the fainting Greeks." *Ibid.*
 * * *
 "This curſed country, where the traitors breathe,
 "Whoſe perjurie (as proud Briareus)
 "Beleaguers all the ſky with miſbelief." *Ibid.*
 * * *
 "Muſt Conſtance ſpeak? let tears prevent her talk.
 "Muſt I diſcourſe? let *Dido* ſigh, and ſay,
 "She weeps again to hear the wrack of Troy." *Ibid.*
 * * *
 "John, 'tis thy ſins that make it miſerable.
 "Quicquid delirant reges, pleſtuntur Achiui." *Ibid.*
 * * *
 "King. Robert of Artoys, baniſh'd though thou be,
 "From France, thy native country, yet with us
 "Thou ſhalt retain as great a ſigniorie,
 "For we create thee earle of Richmond here:
 "And now go forwards with our pedigree;
 "Who next ſucceeded Philip of Bew?
 "Art. Three ſonnes of his, which, all ſucceſſfully,
 "Did ſit upon their father's regal throne;
 "Yet died, and left no iſſue of their loynes.
 "King. But was my mother ſiſter unto theſe?
 "Art. She was, my lord; and only Iſabel
 "Was all the daughters that this Philip had."

The raigne of King Edward III. 1596.

The tragedies of *Marius and Sylla*, by T. Lodge, 1594, *A Looking Glaſſe for London and England*, by T. Lodge and R. Greene, 1598, *Solyman and Perſeda*, written before 1592, *Selimus Emperour of the Turks*, 1594, *The Spaniſh Tragedy*, 1592, and *Titus Andronicus*, will all furniſh examples of a ſimilar verſification; a verſifi-

cation so exactly corresponding with that of *The first Part of King Henry VI.* and *The Whole Contention of the two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster,* &c. as it originally appeared, that I have no doubt these plays were the production of some one or other of the authors of the pieces above quoted or enumerated.

A passage in a pamphlet written by Thomas Nashe, an intimate friend of Greene, Peele, &c. shows that *The first part of King Henry VI.* had been on the stage before 1592; and his favourable mention of this piece inclines me to believe that it was written by a friend of his. "How would it have joyed brave Talbot, (says Nashe in *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Devil*, 1592,) the terror of the French, to thinke that after he had lyen two hundred yeare in his tombe, he should triumph again on the stage; and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least, (at severall times) who in the tragedian that represents his person behold him fresh bleeding."

This passage was several years ago pointed out by my friend Dr. Farmer, as a proof of the hypothesis which I am now endeavouring to establish. That it related to the old play of *King Henry VI.* or, as it is now called, *The first Part of King Henry VI.* cannot, I think, be doubted. *Talbot* appears in the *first* part, and not in the *second* or *third* part; and is expressly spoken of in the play, (as well as in Hall's Chronicle) as "the terror of the French." Holinshed, who was Shakspeare's guide, omits the passage in Hall, in which Talbot is thus described; and this is an additional proof that this play was not our author's. But of this more hereafter.

The first part of king Henry VI. (as it is now called) furnishes us with other *internal* proofs also of its not being the work of Shakspeare.

1. The author of that play, whoever he was, does not seem to have known precisely how old Henry the Sixth was at the time of his father's death. He opens his play indeed with the funeral of Henry the Fifth, but no where mentions expressly the young king's age. It is clear, however, from one passage, that he supposed him to have passed the state of infancy before he lost his father, and even to have remembered some of his sayings. In the fourth act, sc. iv. speaking of the famous Talbot, he says,

When I was young, (as yet I am not old,)
I do remember how my father said,
A flouter champion never handled sword,

But Shakspeare, as appears from two passages, one in the *second*, and the other in the *third*, part of *King Henry VI.* knew that that king could not possibly remember any thing his father had said; and therefore Shakspeare could not have been the author of the *first* part.

No sooner was I crept out of my cradle,
But I was made a king at *nine months old*.

K. Henry VI. P. II. A& IV. sc. ix.

When I was crown'd, I was but *nine months old*.

K. Henry VI. P. III. A& I. sc. i.

The first of these passages is found in the folio copy of The *second* part of *King Henry VI.* and not in *The first part of the Contention, &c.* printed in quarto; and according to my hypothesis, was one of Shakspeare's additions to the old play. This therefore does not prove that the *original* author, whoever he was, was not likewise the author of the *first* part of *King Henry VI.*; but, what is more material to our present question, it proves that *Shakspeare* could not be the author of that play. The second of these passages is found in *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c.* and is a decisive proof that *The first* part of *King Henry VI.* was written *neither* by the author of that tragedy, nor by Shakspeare.

2. A second internal proof that Shakspeare was not the author of the *first* part of these three plays, is furnished by that scene, (A& II. sc. v. Vol. XIV. p. 77.) in which it is said, that the earl of Cambridge *raised an army* against his sovereign. But Shakspeare in his play of *King Henry V.* has represented the matter truly as it was; the earl being in the second act of that historical piece condemned at Southampton for conspiring to *assassinate* Henry.

3. I may likewise add, that the author of *The first* part of *King Henry VI.* knew the true pronunciation of the word *Hecate*, and has used it as it is used by the Roman writers:

“ I speak not to that railing *Heca-té*.” *

* It may perhaps appear a minute remark, but I cannot help observing that the second speech in this play ascertains the writer to have been very conversant with Hall's Chronicle:

“ *What should I say? † his deeds exceed all speech.*”

This phrase is introduced on almost every occasion by that writer, when he means to be eloquent. Holinshed, and not Hall, was Shakspeare's historian (as has been already observed); this therefore is an additional proof that this play was not our author's.

† *What should I say?*] In page 611 of Mr. Malone's edition of *King Richard III.* Vol. VI. this very phrase occurs:

“ *What shall I say more than I have inferr'd?*” STEEVES.

But Shakspeare in his *Macbeth* always uses *Hecate* as a dissyllable; and therefore could not have been the author of the other piece.*

Having now, as I conceive, vindicated Shakspeare from being the writer of *The first part of King Henry VI.* it may seem unnecessary to enquire who was the author; or whether it was the production of the same person or persons who wrote the two pieces, entitled, *The first Part of the Contention of the two Houses, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* However, I shall add a word or two on that point.

We have already seen that the author of the play last named could not have written *The first part of K. Henry VI.* The following circumstances prove that it could not have been written by the author of *The first Part of the Contention, &c.* supposing for a moment that piece, and *The true Tragedie of the duke of Yorke, &c.* to have been the work of different hands.

1. The writer of *The first part of the Contention, &c.* makes Salisbury say to Richard duke of York, that the person from whom the duke derived his title, (he means his maternal uncle Edmund Mortimer, though he ignorantly gives him a different appellation,) was “done to death by that monstrous rebel Owen Glendower;” and Shakspeare in this has followed him:

Sal. This Edmund, in the reign of Bolingbroke,
As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;
And, but for Owen Glendower, had been king,
Who kept him in captivity, till he died.

On this false assertion the duke of York makes no remark. But the author of *The first part of K. Henry VI.* has represented this Edmund Mortimer, not as put to death, or kept in captivity to the time of his death, by Owen Glendower, (who himself died in the second year of *King Henry V.*) but as a state prisoner, who died in the Tower in the reign of *King Henry VI.*

* ---- Shakspeare in his *Macbeth* always uses *Hecate* as a dissyllable; and therefore could not have been the author of the other piece.] By similar reasoning we might infer that Shakspeare was not the author of *The Tempest*; for in this play *Stephano* is properly accented, but erroneously [*Stephāno*] in *The Merchant of Venice*; and that because *Prosper* occurs in one scene, and *Prospero* in another, that both scenes were not of Shakspeare's composition. The same might be said of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, in which both *Enobarbe* and *Enobarbus* are found. This argument also might lead us to imagine that part of the *Iliad* which passes under the name of Mr. Pope, was not in reality translated by him; because in one book we have *Idome neus*, *Meriones*, and *Cebriones*, and in another *Idomen*, *Merion*, and *Cebrion*. Most certainly, both Shakspeare and Pope occasionally accommodated their proper names to the structure of their verses. The abbreviation---*Hecat'* is therefore no proof of our author's ignorance that *Hecate* was usually a trisyllable. STEEVENS.

in the presence of this very duke of York, who was then only Richard Plantagenet.*

2. A correct statement of the issue of King Edward the Third, and of the title of Edmund Mortimer to the crown, is given in *The first part of K. Henry VI.* But in *The first part of the Contention &c.* we find a very incorrect and false statement of Edward's issue, and of the title of Mortimer, whose father, Roger Mortimer, the author of that piece ignorantly calls the *fifth son* of that monarch. Those two plays therefore could not have been the work of one hand.

On all these grounds it appears to me clear, that neither Shakspeare, nor the author of *The first part of the Contention, &c.* or *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* could have been the author of *The First Part of King Henry VI.*

It is observable that in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* many thoughts and many modes of expression are found, which likewise occur in Shakspeare's other dramas: but in the *First Part* I recollect but one marked expression, that is also found in one of his undisputed performances:

“ As I am sick with *working of my thoughts.* ”

So, in *K. Henry V.*

“ *Work, work your thoughts,* and therein see a siege.

But surely this is too slight a circumstance to overturn all the other arguments that have now been urged to prove this play not the production of our author. The co-incidence might be accidental, for it is a co-incidence not of thought but of language;—or the expression might have remained in his mind in consequence of his having often seen this play; (we know that he has borrowed many other expressions from preceding writers;)—or lastly, this might have been one of the very few lines that he wrote on revising this piece; which, however few they were, might, with other reasons, have induced the first publishers of his works in folio to print it with the *second* and *third* part, and to ascribe it to Shakspeare.

Before I quit this part of the subject, it may be proper to mention one other circumstance that renders it very improbable that Shakspeare should have been the author of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* In this play, though one scene is entirely in

* See *The first part of King Henry VI.* Vol. XIV. p. 79; and the *second part*, p. 226.

rhyme, there are very few rhymes dispersed through the piece, and no alternate rhymes; both of which abound in our author's undisputed *early* plays. This observation indeed may likewise be extended to the *second* and *third* part of these historical dramas; and perhaps it may be urged, that if this argument has any weight, it will prove that he had no hand in the composition of those plays. But there being no alternate rhymes in those two plays may be accounted for, by recollecting that in 1591, Shakspeare had not written his *Venus and Adonis*, or his *Rape of Lucrece*; the measures of which perhaps insensibly led him to employ a similar kind of metre occasionally in the dramas that he wrote shortly after he had composed those poems. The paucity of regular rhymes must be accounted for differently. My solution is, that working up the materials which were furnished by a preceding writer, he naturally followed his mode: and in the original plays from which these two were formed very few rhymes are found. Nearly the same argument will apply to the *first* part; for its date also, were that piece Shakspeare's, would account for the want of alternate rhymes. The paucity of regular rhymes indeed cannot be accounted for by saying that here too our author was following the track of another poet; but the solution is unnecessary; for from the beginning to the end of that play, except perhaps in some scenes of the fourth act, there is not a single print of the footsteps of Shakspeare. I have already observed that it is highly improbable that *The First Part of the Contention of the two Houses of York and Lancaster, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* printed in 1600, were written by the author of *The first part of King Henry VI.* By whom these two plays were written, it is not here necessary to inquire; it is sufficient, if probable reasons can be produced for supposing this two-part piece not to have been the composition of Shakspeare, but the work of some preceding writer, on which he formed those two plays which appear in the first folio edition of his works, comprehending a period of twenty-six years, from the time of Henry's marriage to that of his death.

II. I now therefore proceed to state my opinion concerning *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*

"A book entituled, *The First Part of the Contention of the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good duke Humphrie, and the banishment and death of the duke of Yorke, and the tragical ende of the proude Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable rebellion of Jack Cade, and the duke of Yorke's first claime unto the crown,*" was entered at Stationers' Hall, by Thomas

Millington, March 12, 1593-4. This play, however, (on which *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* is formed, was not then printed; nor was *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, &c.* (on which Shakspeare's *Third Part of King Henry VI.* is founded) entered at Stationers' Hall at the same time; but they were both printed for T. Millington in 1600.*

The first thing that strikes us in this entry is, that *the name of Shakspeare is not mentioned*; nor, when the two plays were published in 1600, did the printer ascribe them to our author in the title-page, (though his reputation was then at the highest,) as surely he would have done, had they been his compositions.

In a subsequent edition indeed of the same pieces, printed by one Pavier, without date, but in reality in 1619, after our great poet's death, the name of Shakspeare appears; but this was a bookseller's trick, founded upon our author's celebrity; on his having new modelled these plays; and on the proprietors of the Globe and Blackfriars' theatre not having published Shakspeare's *Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* The very same deception was practised with respect to *King John*. The old play (written perhaps by the same person who was the author of *The Contention of the two famous Houses, &c.*) was printed in 1591, like that piece, *anonymously*. In 1611, (Shakspeare's *King John*, founded on the same story, having been probably often acted and admired,) the old piece in two parts was reprinted; and, in order to deceive the purchaser, was said in the title-page to be written by *W. Sh.* A subsequent printer in 1622 grew more bold, and affixed Shakspeare's name to it at full length.

It is observable that Millington the bookseller, by whom *The first part of the Contention of the two famous Houses, &c.* was entered at Stationers' Hall, in 1593-4, and for whom that piece and *The Tragedie of the duke of Yorke, &c.* were printed in 1600, was not the proprietor of any one of Shakspeare's undisputed plays, except *King Henry V.* of which he published a *spurious* copy, that, I think, must have been imperfectly taken down in short-hand in the play-house.

The next observable circumstance with respect to these two quarto plays, is, that they are said in their title-pages to have

† They were probably printed in 1600, because Shakspeare's alterations of them were then popular, as *King Leir and his three daughters* was printed in 1605, because our author's play was probably at that time first produced.

been “ fundry times acted by the earle of Pembroke his servants.” *Titus Andronicus* and *The old Taming of a Shrew* were acted by the same company of Comedians; but not one of our author’s plays is said in its title-page to have been acted by any but the Lord Chamberlain’s, or the Queen’s, or King’s servants.* This circumstance alone, in my opinion, might almost decide the question.

This much appears on the first superficial view of these pieces; but the passage quoted by Mr. Tyrwhitt from an old pamphlet, entitled *Green’s Groatsworth of Witte*, &c. affords a still more decisive support to the hypothesis that I am endeavouring to maintain; which indeed that pamphlet first suggested to me. As this passage is the chief hinge of my argument, though it has already been printed in a preceding page, it is necessary to lay it again before the reader.—“ Yes,” says the writer, Robert Greene, (addressing himself, as Mr. Tyrwhitt conjectures with great probability, to his poetical friend George Peele,) “ trust them [the players] not; for there is an upstart crow BEAUTIFIED WITH OUR FEATHERS, that with his *tygres heart wrapt in a player’s hide* supposes hee is as well able to bombaste out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is, in his own conceit, the only *Shake-scene* in a country.”—“ O tyger’s heart, wrapt in a woman’s hide!” is a line of the old quarto play, entitled *The first part of the Contention of the two houses*, &c.

That Shakspeare was here alluded to, cannot, I think, be doubted. But what does the writer mean by calling him “ a crow beautified with our feathers?” My solution is, that GREENE and PEELE were the joint-authors of the two quarto plays, entitled *The first part of the Contention of the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, &c. and *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. or that Greene was the author of one, and Peele of the other. Greene’s pamphlet, from whence the foregoing passage is extracted, was written recently before his death, which happened in September 1592. How long he and Peele had been dramatick writers, is not precisely ascertained. Peele took the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford, in 1579: Greene took the same degree in Cambridge in 1583. Each of them has left four or five plays, and they wrote several others which have not been published. The earliest of Peele’s

* The first edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597, is said in its title-page to have been acted “ By the right honourable the L. of Hunfdon his servants.”

printed pieces, *The Arraignment of Paris*, appeared in 1584; and one of Greene's pamphlets was printed in 1583. Between that year and 1591 it is highly probable that the two plays in question were written. I suspect they were produced in 1588 or 1589. We have undoubted proofs that Shakspeare was not above working on the materials of other men. His *Taming of the Shrew*, his *King John*, and other plays, render any arguments on that point unnecessary. Having therefore probably not long before the year 1592, when Greene wrote his dying exhortation to his friend, new-modelled and amplified these two pieces, and produced on the stage what in the folio edition of his Works are called *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* and having acquired considerable reputation by them, Greene could not conceal the mortification that he felt at his own fame and that of his associate, both of them old and admired play-wrights, being eclipsed by a new *upstart* writer, (for so he calls our great poet,) who had then first perhaps attracted the notice of the publick by exhibiting two plays, formed upon old dramas written by them, considerably enlarged and improved. He therefore in direct terms charges him with having acted like the crow in the fable, *beautified himself with their feathers*; in other words, with having acquired fame *furtivis coloribus*, by new-modelling a work originally produced by them: and wishing to depretiate our author, he very naturally quotes a line from one of the pieces, which Shakspeare had thus *re-written*, a proceeding which the authors of the original plays considered as an invasion both of their literary property and character. This line with many others Shakspeare adopted without any alteration. The very term that Greene uses,—"to *bombast* out a blank verse," exactly corresponds with what has been now suggested. This new poet, says he, knows as well as any man how to *amplify* and *swell* out a blank verse. *Bumbast* was a soft stuff of a loose texture, by which garments were rendered more swelling and protuberant.

Several years after the death of Boiardo, Francesco Berni undertook to new-verify Boiardo's poem entitled, **ORLANDO INNAMORATO**. "Berni (as Baretti observes) was not satisfied with merely making the versification of that poem better; he interspersed it with many stanzas of his own, and changed almost all the beginnings of the cantos, introducing each of them with some moral reflection arising from the canto foregoing." What Berni did to Boiardo's poem after the death of its author, and more, I suppose Shakspeare to have done to

The first part of the Contention of the two houses of York and Lancaster, &c. and *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* in the life time of Greene and Peele, their literary parents; and this *Risacimento* (as the Italians call it) of these two plays I suppose to have been executed by Shakspeare, and exhibited at the Globe or Blackfriars theatre, in the year 1591.

I have said Shakspeare did what Berni did, and more. He did not content himself with writing new beginnings to the acts; he new-verified, he new-modelled, he transposed many of the parts, and greatly amplified and improved the whole. Several lines, however, and even whole speeches which he thought sufficiently polished, he accepted, and introduced into his own work, without any, or with very slight, alterations.

In the present edition, all those lines which he adopted without any alteration, are printed in the usual manner; those speeches which he altered or expanded, are distinguished by inverted commas; and to all the lines entirely composed by himself asterisks are prefixed. The total number of lines in our author's *Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* is SIX THOUSAND AND FORTY-THREE: of these, as I conceive, 1771 lines were written by some author who preceded Shakspeare; 2373 were formed by him on the foundation laid by his predecessors; and 1899 lines were entirely his own composition.

That the reader may have the whole of the subject before him, I shall here transcribe the fourth scene of the fourth act of *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (which happens to be a short one,) together with the corresponding scene in the original play; and also a speech of Queen Margaret in the fifth act, with the original speech on which it is formed. The first specimen will serve to shew the method taken by Shakspeare, where he only new-polished the language of the old play, rejecting some part of the dialogue, and making some slight additions to the part which he retained; the second is a striking proof of his facility and vigour of composition, which has happily expanded a thought comprized originally in a very short speech, into thirty-seven lines, none of which appear feeble or superfluous.

THE TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARDE DUKE OF YORKE,
&c. Sign. F. 4. edit. 1600.

Enter the Queene, and the Lord Rivers.

Riv. Tell me, good madam,
Why is your grace so passionate of late.

Queene. Why, brother Rivers, heare you not the news
Of that success king Edward had of late?

Riv. What? losse of some pitcht battaile against Warwick?

Tush ; fear not, faire queen, but cast these cares aside,
King Edwards noble minde his honours doth display ;
And Warwicke may lose, though then he got the day.

Queene. If that were all, my griefes were at an end ;
But greater troubles will, I feare, befall.

Riv. What ? is he taken prisoner by the foe,
To the danger of his royal person then ?

Queene. I, there's my grieve ; King Edward is surprisde,
And led away as prisoner unto Yorke.

Riv. The newes is passing strange, I must confesse ;
Yet comfort yourselfe, for Edward hath more friends
Than Lancaster at this time must perceive,—
That some will set him in his throne againe.

Queene. God grant they may ! but gentle brother, come,
And let me leane upon thine arm a while,
Until I come unto the sanctuarie ;
There to preserve the fruit within my womb,
King Edwards seed, true heir to Englands crowne.

[*Exeunt.*]

KING HENRY VI. PART III. ACT IV. SCENE IV.

Enter the QUEEN and RIVERS.

Riv. Madam, what makes you in this sudden change ?

Queen. Why, brother Rivers, are you yet to learn,
What late misfortune is befall'n king Edward ?

Riv. What, loss of some pitch'd battle against Warwick ?

Queen. No, but the loss of his own royal person.

Riv. Then is my sovereign slain ?

Queen. Ay, almost slain, for he is taken prisoner ;
Either betray'd by falshood of his guard,
Or by his foe surpriz'd at unawares :
And, as I further have to understand,
Is new committed to the bishop of York,
Fell Warwick's brother, and by that our foe.

Riv. These news, I must confess, are full of grief :
Yet gracious madam, bear it as you may ;
Warwick may lose, that now hath won the day.

Queen. Till then, fair hope must hinder life's decay.
And I the rather wean me from despair,
For love of Edward's offspring in my womb :
This is it that makes me bridle passion,
And bear with mildness my misfortune's cross ;
Ay, ay, for this I draw in many a tear,
And stop the rising of blood-sucking sighs,
Lest with my sighs or tears I blast or drown
King Edward's fruit, true heir to the English crown.

Riv. But, madam, where is Warwick then become ?

Queen. I am informed, that he comes towards London,
To let the crown once more on Henry's head :
Guess thou the rest ; King Edward's friends must down.
But, to prevent the tyrant's violence,
(For trust not him that once hath broken faith,)
I'll hence forthwith unto the sanctuary

To save at least the heir of Edward's right;
 There shall I rest secure from force, and fraud.
 Come therefore, let us fly, while we may fly;
 If Warwick take us, we are sure to die.

[*Exeunt.*]

THE TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARDE DUKE OF YORKE,
 &c. Sign. G 4. edit. 1600.

*Enter the Queene, Prince Edward, Oxford, Somerset, with drummes
 and souldiers.*

Queen. Welcome to England, my loving friends of France;
 And welcome Somerset and Oxford too.
 Once more have we spread our sailes abroad;
 And though our tackling be almost consumde,
 And Warwicke as our main-mast overthrowne,
 Yet, warlike lordes, raise you that sturdie post,
 That bears the sailes to bring us unto rest;
 And Ned and I, as willing pilots should,
 For once with careful mindes guide on the sterne,
 To bear us thorough that dangerous gulfe,
 That heretofore hath swallowed up our friendes.

KING HENRY VI. PART III. ACT V. SCENE IV.

*March. Enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD,
 SOMERSET, OXFORD, and Soldiers.*

Q. Mar. Great lords, wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss;
 But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.
 What though the mast be now blown over-board,
 The cable broke, the holding anchor lost,
 And half our sailors swallow'd in the flood?
 Yet lives our pilot still: Is't meet, that he
 Should leave the helm, and, like a fearful lad,
 With tearful eyes add water to the sea,
 And give more strength to that which had too much;
 Whiles, in his moan, the ship splits on the rock,
 Which industry and courage might have sav'd?
 Ah, what a shame! ah, what a fault were this!
 Say, Warwick was our anchor; What of that?
 And Montague our top-mast; What of him?
 Our slaughter'd friends the tackles; What of these?
 Why, is not Oxford here another anchor?
 And Somerset another goodly mast?
 The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings?
 And, though unskillful, why not Ned and I
 For once allow'd the skilful pilot's charge?
 We will not from the helm, to sit and weep;
 But keep our course, though the rough wind say—no,
 From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wreck.
 As good to chide the waves, as speak them fair.
 And what is Edward, but a ruthless sea?
 What Clarence, but a quick-sand of deceit?
 And Richard, but a ragged fatal rock?

All these the enemies to our poor bark.
 Say, you can swim ; alas, 'tis but a while :
 Tread on the sand ; why, there you quickly sink :
 Bestride the rock ; the tide will wash you off,
 Or else you famish, that's a threefold death.
 This speak I, lords, to let you understand,
 In case some one of you would fly from us,
 That there's no hop'd-for mercy with the brothers,
 More than with ruthless waves, with sands, and rocks.
 Why, courage, then ! what cannot be avoided,
 'Twere childish weakness to lament, or fear. *

If the reader wishes to compare *The first Part of the Contention of the two houses, &c.* with *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* which was formed upon it, he will find various passages quoted from the elder drama in the notes on that play. The two celebrated scenes, in which the dead body of the duke of Gloster is described, and the death of cardinal Beaufort is represented, may be worth examining with this view ; and will sufficiently ascertain how our author proceeded in new-modelling that play ; with what expression, animation, and splendour of colouring he filled up the outline that had been sketched by a preceding writer.†

Shakspeare having thus given celebrity to these two old dramas, by altering and writing several parts of them over again, the bookseller, Millington, in 1593-4, to avail himself of the popularity of the new and admired poet, got, perhaps from Peele, who was then living, or from the author, whoever he was, or from some of the comedians belonging to the earl of Pembroke, the *original* play on which *the Second Part of King Henry VI.* was founded ; and entered it on the Stationers' books, certainly with an intention to publish it. Why it did not then appear, cannot be now ascertained. But both that, and the other piece on which *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* was formed, was printed by the same bookseller in 1600, either with a view to lead the common reader to suppose that he should purchase two plays *as altered* and new-modelled by Shakspeare, or, without any such fraudulent intention, to derive a profit from the exhibition of a work that so great a writer had thought proper to retouch, and form into those dramas which for several years before 1600 had without doubt been performed with considerable applause. In the same manner *The old Taming*

* Compare also the account of the death of the duke of York (p. 46) and King Henry's Soliloquy (p. 75) with the old play as quoted in the notes.— Sometimes our author new-versed the old, without the addition of any new matter. See p. 145, n. 3.

† See Vol. XIV. p. 274, n. 6; and p. 287, n. 7. Compare also Clifford's speech to the rebels in p. 335, Buckingham's address to King Henry in Vol. XIV. p. 222, and Iden's speech in p. 344, with the old play, as quoted in the notes.

of a *Shrew*, on which our author formed a play, had been entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, and was printed in 1607, without doubt with a view to pass it on the publick as the production of Shakspeare.

When William Pavier republished *The contention of the two Houses &c.* in 1619,* he omitted the words in the original title-page, — “as it was acted by the earl of Pembroke his servantes;” — just as, on the republication of *King John* in two parts, in 1611, the words, — “as it was acted in the honourable city of London,” — were omitted; because the omitted words in both cases marked the respective pieces not to be the production of Shakspeare.† And as in *King John* the letters *W. Sh.* were added in 1611 to deceive the purchaser, so in the republication of *The Whole Contention, &c.* Pavier, having dismissed the words above mentioned, inserted these: “*Newly CORRECTED and ENLARGED by William Shakspeare;*” knowing that these pieces had been made the ground work of two other plays; that they had in fact been *corrected and enlarged*, (though not in that copy which Pavier printed, which is a mere republication from the edition of 1600,) and exhibited under the titles of *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*; and hoping that this new edition of the *original* plays would pass for those *altered and augmented* by Shakspeare, which were then unpublished.

If Shakspeare had originally written these three plays of *King Henry VI.* would they not probably have been found by the bookseller in the same Ms.? Would not the three parts have been procured, whether surreptitiously or otherwise, *all together*? Would they not in that Ms. have borne the titles of the *First and Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*? And would not the bookseller have entered them on the Stationers' books, and published such of them as he did publish, under those titles, and *with the name of Shakspeare*? On the other hand, if that which is now distinguished by the name of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* but which I suppose in those times was only called “*The historical play of King Henry VI.*” if this was the production of some old dramatist, if it had appeared on the stage some years before 1591, (as from Nashe's mention of it seems to be implied,) perhaps in 1587 or 1588, if its popularity was in 1594 in its wane, and the attention of the publick was entirely taken up by Shakspeare's alteration

* Pavier's edition has no date, but it is ascertained to have been printed in 1619, by the Signatures; the *last* of which is Q. The play of *Pericles* was printed in 1619, for the same bookseller, and its *first* signature is R. The undated copy, therefore, of *The Whole Contention, &c.* and *Pericles*, must have been printed at the same time.

† See *An Attempt to ascertain the order of Shakspeare's plays*, Vol. II. Article, *King John*.

of two other plays which had likewise appeared before 1591, would not the superior popularity of these two pieces, altered by such a poet, attract the notice of the booksellers? and finding themselves unable to procure them from the theatre, would they not gladly seize on the *originals* on which this new and admired writer had worked, and publish them as soon as they could, neglecting entirely the preceding old play, or *First Part of King Henry VI.* (as it is now called) which Shakspeare had not embellished with his pen? — Such, we have seen, was actually the process; for Thomas Millington, neglecting entirely *The First Part of King Henry VI.* entered the ORIGINAL of *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* at Stationers' Hall in 1593-4, and published the ORIGINALS of both that and *The Third Part* in 1600. When Heminge and Condell printed these three pieces in folio, they were necessarily obliged to name the old play of *King Henry VI.* the *first* part, to distinguish it from the two following historical dramas, founded on a later period of the same king's reign.

Having examined such external evidence as time has left us concerning these two plays, now denominated *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* let us see whether we cannot by internal marks ascertain how far Shakspeare was concerned in their composition.

It has long been a received opinion that the two quarto plays, one of which was published under the title of *The First Part of the Contention of the two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and the other under the title of *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* were spurious and imperfect copies of Shakspeare's *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.*; and many passages have been quoted in the notes to the late editions of Shakspeare, as containing merely the various readings of the quartos and the folio; the passages being supposed to be in substance the same, only variously exhibited in different copies. The variations have been accounted for, by supposing that the imperfect and spurious quarto copies (as they were called) were taken down either by an unskilful short-hand writer, or by some auditor who picked up "during the representation what the time would permit, then filled up some of his omissions at a second or third hearing, and when he had by this method formed something like a play, sent it to the printer." To this opinion, I with others for a long time subscribed: two of Heywood's pieces furnishing indubitable proofs that plays in the time of our author were sometimes imperfectly copied during the representation, by the ear, or by short-hand writers.*

But a minute examination of the two pieces in question, and a careful comparison of them with Shakspeare's *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* have convinced me that this could not have

* See p. 202,

been the case with respect to them. No fraudulent copyist or short-hand writer would invent circumstances *totally different* from those which appear in Shakspeare's new-modelled draughts as exhibited in the first folio; or insert *whole speeches*, of which scarcely a trace is found in that edition. In the course of the foregoing notes many of these have been particularly pointed out. I shall now bring into one point of view all those internal circumstances which prove in my apprehension decisively, that the quarto plays were not spurious and imperfect copies of Shakspeare's pieces, but elder dramas on which he formed his *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.*

1. In some places a speech in one of these quartos consists of ten or twelve lines. In Shakspeare's folio the same speech consists of perhaps only half the number.* A copyist by the ear, or an unskilful short-hand writer, might mutilate and exhibit a poet's thoughts or expressions imperfectly; but would he dilate and amplify them, or introduce totally new matter? Assuredly he would not.

2. Some circumstances are mentioned in the old quarto plays, of which there is not the least trace in the folio; and many minute variations are found between them and the folio, that prove the pieces in quarto to have been original and distinct compositions.

In the last act of the *First Part of the Contention*, &c. the duke of Buckingham after the battle of Saint Albans, is brought in wounded, and carried to his tent; but in Shakspeare's play he is not introduced on the stage after that battle.

In one of the *original* scenes between Jack Cade and his followers, which Shakspeare has made the seventh scene of the fourth act of his *Second Part of King Henry VI.* Dick Butcher drags a serjeant, that is, a catch-pole, on the stage, and a dialogue consisting of seventeen lines passes between Cade, &c. at the conclusion of which it is determined that the serjeant shall be "brain'd with his owne mace." Of this not one word appears in our author's play.† In the same piece Jack Cade, hearing that a knight, called Sir Humphrey Stafford, was coming at the head of an army against him, to put himself on a par with him makes himself a knight; and finding that Stafford's brother was also a knight, he dubs Dick Butcher also. But in Shakspeare's play the latter circumstance is omitted.

In the old play Somerset goes out immediately after he is appointed regent of France. In Shakspeare's *Second Part of King*

* See Vol. XIV. p. 190, n. 8; p. 223, n. 7; p. 353. n. 6; Vol. XV. p. 42, n. 7; p. 166, n. 6.

† See Vol. XIV. p. 333, n. 5; and *The First Part of the Contention*, &c. 1600, Sign. G. 3.

Henry VI. he continues on the stage with Henry to the end of the scene (Act I. sc. iii.) and the king addresses him as they go out.

In the old play, the dutchess of Gloster enters with Hume, Bolingbroke, and Margery Jourdain, and after some conversation with them, tells them that while they perform their rites, she will go to the top of an adjoining tower, and there write down such answers as the spirits, that they are to raise, shall give to her questions. But in Shakspeare's play, Hume, *Southwell*, (who is not introduced in the elder drama) and Bolingbroke, &c. enter without the dutchess; and after some conversation the dutchess appears above, (that is, on the tower,) and encourages them to proceed.*

In Shakspeare's play, when the duke of York enters, and finds the dutchess of Gloster, &c. and her co-adjutors performing their magick rites, (Vol. XIV. p. 208,) the duke seizes the paper in which the answers of the spirit to certain questions are written down, and reads them aloud. In the old play the answers are not here recited by York; but in a subsequent scene Buckingham reads them to the king; (see Vol. XIV. p. 209, n. 3, and p. 222, n. 4.) and this is one of the many transpositions that Shakspeare made in new-modelling these pieces, of which I shall speak more fully hereafter.

In the old play, when the king pronounces sentence on the dutchess of Gloster, he particularly mentions the mode of her penance; and the sentence is pronounced in prose. "Stand forth dame Eleanor Cobham, dutchess of Gloster, and hear the sentence pronounced against thee for these treasons that thou hast committed against us, our state and peers. First, for thy heinous crimes thou shalt *two daies* in London do penance *barefoot in the streets, with a white sheete about thy bodie, and a wax taper burning in thy hand*: that done, thou shalt be banished for ever into the Isle of Man, there to end thy wretched daies; and this is our sentence irrevocable.—Away with her." But in Shakspeare's play (Vol. XIV. p. 230,) the king pronounces sentence in *verse* against the dutchess *and her confederates* at the same time; and only says in general, that "after *three* days open penance, she shall be banished to the Isle of Man.

In Shakspeare's play, (Vol. XIV. p. 259.) when the duke of York undertakes to subdue the Irish rebels, if he be furnished with a sufficient army, *Suffolk* says, that he "will see that charge performed." But in the old play the queen enjoins *the duke of Buckingham* to attend to this business, and he accepts the office.

In our author's play Jack Cade is described as a *clothier*, in the old play he is "the *dyer* of Ashford." In the same piece, when

* See Vol. XIV. p. 204, n. 3.

the king and Somerset appear at Kenilworth, a dialogue passes between them and the queen, of which not one word is preserved in the corresponding scene in *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* (Vol. XIV. p. 338.) In the old play, Buckingham states to the king the grounds on which York had taken up arms; but in Shakspeare's piece, (Vol. XIV. p. 353, York himself assigns his reasons for his conduct.

In the old play near the conclusion, young Clifford when he is preparing to carry off the dead body of his father, is assaulted by Richard, and after putting him to flight, he makes a speech consisting of four lines. But in Shakspeare's play, (Vol. XIV. p. 368,) there is no combat between them, nor is Richard introduced in that scene. The four lines therefore above mentioned are necessarily omitted.

In the old play the queen drops her glove, and finding the dutchess of Gloster makes no attempt to take it up, she gives her a box on the ear:

"Give me my glove; why, minion, can you not see?"

But in Shakspeare's play, (Vol. XIV. p. 198,) the queen drops not a glove, but a fan:

"Give me my fan: What, minion, can you not?"

In Shakspeare's *Second Part of King Henry VI.* (Vol. XIV. p. 294,) Suffolk discovers himself to the captain who had seized him, by showing his *George*. In the old play he announces his quality by a *ring*, a seal-ring we may suppose, exhibiting his arms. In the same scene of Shakspeare's play, he observes that the captain threatens more

"Than *Bargulus*, the strong *Illyrian* pirate."

But in the elder drama Suffolk says, he

"Threatens more plagues than mighty *Abradas*,

"The great *Macedonian* pirate."

In the same scene of the original play the captain threatens to *sink* Suffolk's ship; but no such menace is found in Shakspeare's play.

In *The True Tragedie of Richard duke of York, &c.* Richard (afterwards duke of Gloster) informs Warwick that his *father* the earl of Salisbury was killed in an action which he describes, and which in fact took place at Ferrybridge in Yorkshire. But Shakspeare in his *Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 69) formed upon the piece above-mentioned, has rightly deviated from it, and for *father* substituted *brother*, it being the natural brother of Warwick, (the bastard son of Salisbury,) that fell at Ferrybridge. The earl of Salisbury, Warwick's father, was beheaded at Pomfret.

In the same old play a son is introduced who has killed his father, and afterwards a father who has killed his son. King Henry, who is on the stage, says not a word till they have both

appeared, and spoken; he then pronounces a speech of seven lines. But in Shakspeare's play (p. 79,) this speech is enlarged, and two speeches formed on it, the first of which the king speaks after the son has appeared, and the other after the entry of the father.

In our author's play, (p. 127,) after Edward's marriage with Lady Grey, his brothers enter, and converse on that event. The king, queen, &c. then join them, and Edward asks Clarence how he approves his choice. In the elder play there is no previous dialogue between Gloster and Clarence; but the scene opens with the entry of the king, &c. who desires the opinion of his brothers on his recent marriage.

In our author's play (p. 110,) the following line is found:

"And set the *murderous Machiavel* to school."

This line in *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* stood thus:

"And set the *aspiring Cataline* to school."

Cataline was the person that would naturally occur to Peele or Greene, as the most splendid *classical* example of inordinate ambition; but Shakspeare, who was more conversant with English books, substituted Machiavel, whose name was in such frequent use in his time that it became a specifick term for a consummate politician; * and accordingly he makes his host in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, when he means to boast of his own shrewdness, exclaim, "Am I subtle? am I a *Machiavel*?"

Many other variations beside those already mentioned might be pointed out; but that I may not weary the reader, I will only refer in a note to the most striking diversities that are found between Shakspeare's *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* and the elder dramas printed in quarto.†

The supposition of imperfect or spurious copies cannot account for such numerous variations in the *circumstances* of these pieces; (not to insist at present on the *language* in which they are clothed;) so that we are compelled (as I have already observed) to maintain, either that Shakspeare wrote *two* plays on the story which forms his *Second Part of King Henry VI.* a hasty sketch, and an entirely distinct and more finished performance; or else we must acknowledge that he formed that piece on a foundation laid by another writer, that is, upon the quarto copy of *The*

* See Vol. XIV. p. 160, n. 8.

† See Vol. XIV. p. 190, n. 8; p. 202, n. 9; p. 205, n. 5; p. 208, n. 2; p. 229, n. 7; p. 251, n. 9; p. 257, n. 6; p. 262, n. 4; p. 291, n. 8; p. 294, n. 4; p. 300, n. 6; p. 333, n. 6; p. 338, n. 5; p. 353, n. 5 and 6; p. 372, n. 4; Vol. XV. p. 10, n. 9; p. 12, n. 4; p. 15, n. 2; p. 21, n. 5; p. 24, n. 5; p. 25, n. 7; p. 59, n. 9; p. 69, n. 4; p. 73, n. 2. p. 79, n. 4; p. 111 n. 5; p. 117, n. 4; p. 127, n. 6; p. 135, n. 6 and 7; p. 136, n. 8 p. 138, n. 5; p. 142, n. 7; p. 157, n. 5; p. 174, n. 7.

first Part of the Contention of the Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c. And the same argument precisely applies to *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* which is founded on *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* printed in quarto, 1600.

Let us now advert to the *Resemblances* that are found in these pieces as exhibited in the folio, to passages in our author's undisputed plays; and also to the *Inconsistencies* that may be traced between them; and, if I do not deceive myself, both the one and the other will add considerable support to the foregoing observations.

In our author's genuine plays, he frequently borrows from himself, the same thoughts being found in nearly the same expressions in different pieces. In *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* as in other dramas, these coincidences with his other works may be found; * and this was one of the circumstances that once weighed much in my mind, and convinced me of their authenticity. But a collation of these plays with the old pieces on which they are founded, has shewn me the fallacy by which I was deceived: for the passages of these two parts of *King Henry VI.* which correspond with others in our author's undisputed plays, exist *only* in the folio copy, and not in the quarto; in other words, in those parts of these new-modelled pieces, which were of Shakspeare's writing, and not in the originals by another hand, on which he worked. This, I believe, will be found invariably the case, except in three instances.

The first is, "You have no children, butchers;" which is, it must be acknowledged, in *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* 1600; (as well as in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.*) and is also introduced with a slight variation in *Macbeth*. †

Another instance is found in *King John*. That king, when charged with the death of his nephew, asks,

"Think you, I bear the shears of destiny?"

"Have I commandment on the pulse of life?"

which bears a striking resemblance to the words of Cardinal Beaufort in *The first Part of the Contention of the two houses, &c.* which Shakspeare has introduced in his *Second Part of King Henry VI.*:

"—— Died he not in his bed?"

"Can I make men live whe'r they will or no?"

The third instance is found in *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* In that piece are the following lines, which Shakspeare adopted with a very slight variation, and inserted in his *Third Part of King Henry VI.*:

* See Vol. XIV. p. 177, n. 7; p. 196, n. 4; p. 283, n. 7; p. 289, n. 2; p. 302, n. 9; p. 334, n. 6; p. 373, n. 7; Vol. XV. p. 76, n. 6; p. 94, n. 3; p. 177, n. 6; p. 182, n. 4.

† See p. 185, of this volume, and Vol. XI. p. 223, n. 2.

“ — — doves will peck in rescue of their brood. —
 “ Unreasonable creatures feed their young;
 “ And though man’s face be fearful to their eyes,
 “ Yet, in protection of their tender ones,
 “ Who hath not seen them even with those same wings
 “ Which they have sometime used in fearful flight,
 “ Make war with him that climb’d unto their nest,
 “ Offering their own lives in their young’s defence?”

So, in our author’s *Macbeth*:

“ — — the poor wren —
 “ The most diminutive of birds, will fight,
 “ Her young ones in the nest, against the owl.”

But whoever recollects the various thoughts that Shakspeare has borrowed from preceding writers, will not be surpris’d that in a similar situation, in *Macbeth*, and *King John*, he should have used the expressions of an old dramatist, with whose writings he had been particularly conversant; expressions too, which he had before embodied in former plays: nor can, I think, these three instances much diminish the force of the foregoing observation. That it may have its full weight, I have in the present edition distinguished by asterisks all the lines in *The Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* of which there is no trace in the old quarto plays, and which therefore I suppose to have been written by Shakspeare. Though this has not been effected without much trouble, yet, if it shall tend to settle this long-agitated question, I shall not consider my labour as wholly thrown away.

Perhaps a similar coincidency in *The First Part of King Henry VI.* may be urged in opposition to my hypothesis relative to that play. “Lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire,” are in that piece called the attendants on the brave lord Talbot; as in Shakspeare’s *King Henry V.* “famine, sword, and fire, are leash’d in like hounds, crouching under the martial Henry for employment.” If this image had proceeded from our author’s imagination, this coincidency might perhaps countenance the supposition that he had some hand at least in that scene of *The First Part of King Henry VI.* where these attendants on war are personified. But that is not the case; for the fact is, that Shakspeare was furnished with this imagery by a passage in *Holinshed*, as the author of the old play of *King Henry VI.* was by *Hall’s Chronicle*: “The Goddesse of warre called Bellonas — hath these three hand-maides ever of necessitie attendyng on her; bloud, fyre, and famine.”*

In our present inquiry, it is undoubtedly a very striking circumstance that *almost* all the passages in *The Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* which resemble others in Shakspeare’s

* Hall’s *Chron.* Henry VI. fol. xxix.

undisputed plays, are not found in the original pieces in quarto, but in his *Risacimento* published in folio. As these *Resemblances* to his other plays, and a peculiar Shakspearian phraseology, ascertain a *considerable portion* of these disputed dramas to be the production of Shakspeare, so on the other hand certain passages which are *discordant* (in matters of fact) from his other plays, are proved by this *Discordancy*, not to have been composed by him; and these discordant passages, being found in the original quarto plays, prove that those pieces were composed by another writer.

Thus, in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 199,) Sir John Grey is said to have lost "his life in quarrel of the house of York;" and king Edward stating the claim of his widow, whom he afterwards married, mentions, that his lands after the battle of Saint Albans (February 17, 1460-1) "were seized on by the conqueror." Whereas in fact they were seized on by Edward himself after the battle of Towton, (in which he was conqueror,) March 29, 1461. The conqueror at the second battle of Saint Albans, the battle here meant, was Queen Margaret. This statement was taken from the old quarto play; and, from carelessness was adopted by Shakspeare without any material alteration. But at a subsequent period when he wrote his *King Richard III.* he was under a necessity of carefully examining the English chronicles; and in that play, Act I. sc. iii. he has represented this matter truly as it was:

"In all which time, you, and your husband Grey,

"Were *factions* for the house of Lancaster;—

"(And, Rivers, so were you;)—Was not your husband

"In Margaret's battle at Saint Albans slain?"

It is called "Margaret's battle," because she was there victorious.

An equally decisive circumstance is furnished by the same play. In *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 124.) Warwick proposes to marry his *eldest* daughter (*Isabella*) to Edward Prince of Wales, and the proposal is accepted by Edward; and in a subsequent scene Clarence says, he will marry the *younger* daughter (*Anne*). In these particulars Shakspeare has implicitly followed the elder drama. But the fact is, that the prince of Wales married Anne the *younger* daughter of the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Clarence married the *elder*, Isabella. Though the author of *The true Tragedie of the duke of Yorke, &c.* was here inaccurate, and though Shakspeare too negligently followed his steps,—when he wrote his *King Richard III.* he had gained better information; for there Lady ANNE is rightly represented as the widow of the prince of Wales, and the *youngest* daughter of the earl of Warwick:

"Which done, God take king Edward to his mercy,

“ And leave the world to me to bustle in.

“ For then I'll marry Warwick's *youngest* daughter;

“ What though I kill'd her husband, and her father, ” &c.

i. e. Edward prince of Wales, and king Henry VI.

King Richard III. Act I. sc. i.

I have said that certain passages in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* are ascertained to be Shakspeare's by a peculiar phraseology. This peculiar phraseology, without a single exception, distinguishes such parts of these plays as are found in the folio, and not in the *elder* quarto dramas, of which the phraseology, as well as the versification, is of a different colour. This observation applies not only to the new original matter produced by Shakspeare, but to his alteration of the old. Our author in his undoubted compositions has fallen into an inaccuracy, of which I do not recollect a similar instance in the works of any other dramatist. When he has occasion to quote the same paper twice, (not from memory, but *verbatim*,) from negligence he does not always attend to the words of the paper which he has occasion to quote, but makes one of the persons of the drama recite them with variations, though he holds the very paper quoted before his eyes. Thus, in *All's well that ends well*, Act V. sc. iii. Helena says,

“ — here's your letter; This it says:

“ *When from my finger you can get this ring,*

“ *And are by me with child.*”

Yet, as I have observed in Vol. V. p. 304, n. 7. Helena in Act III. sc. ii. *reads* this very letter aloud, and there the words are different, and in plain prose: “ When thou canst get the ring from my finger, which never shall come off, and show me a child begotten of thy body,” &c. In like manner, in the first scene of *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* Suffolk presents to the duke of Gloster, protector of the realm, the articles of peace concluded between France and England. The protector begins to read the articles, but when he has proceeded no further than these words, — “ Item, that the *dutchy* of Anjou and the *county* of Maine shall be released and delivered to the king her father,” — he is suddenly taken ill, and rendered incapable of proceeding: on which the bishop of Winchester is called upon to read the remainder of the paper. He accordingly reads the whole of the article, of which the duke of Gloster had only read a part: “ Item, *It is further agreed between them*, that the *dutchies* of Anjou and Maine shall be released and delivered over to the king her father, and she sent,” &c. Now though Maine in our old chronicles is sometimes called a county, and sometimes a dutchy, yet words cannot thus change their form under the eyes of two readers: nor do they in the original play, entitled

The first part of the Contention of the two houses, &c. for there the article as recited by the protector corresponds with that recited by the bishop, without the most minute variation. "Item, It is further agreed between them, that the *dutchies of Anjou and of Maine* shall be released and delivered over to the king her father and she sent," &c. Thus in the old play says the duke, and so says the cardinal after him. This one circumstance, in my apprehension, is of such weight, that though it stood alone, it might decide the present question. Our author has fallen into a similar inaccuracy in the fourth scene of the same act, where the duke of York recites from a paper the questions that had been put to the Spirit, relative to the duke of Suffolk, Somerset, &c.*

Many minute marks of Shakspeare's hand may be traced in such parts of the old plays as he has new-modelled. I at present recollect one that must strike every reader who is conversant with his writings. He very frequently uses adjectives adverbially; and this kind of phraseology, if not peculiar to him, is found more frequently in his writings than those of any of his contemporaries. Thus,—"I am myself *indifferent* honest;"—"as *dishonourable* ragged as an old faced ancient;"—"equal ravenous;"—"leaves them *invisible*;" &c.† In *The true Tragedie of the duke of Yorke, &c.* the king, having determined to marry Lady Grey, enjoins his brothers to use her *honourably*. But in Shakspeare's play the words are,—"use her *honourable*." So, in *Julius Cæsar*:

"Young man, thou could'st not die more *honourable*."

In like manner, in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* we find this line:

"Is either slain, or wounded *dangerous*."
but in the old play the words are—"wounded *dangerously*."

In the same play the word *handkerchief* is used; but in the corresponding scene in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 47.) Shakspeare has substituted the northern term *napkin*, which occurs so often in his works, in its room.**

The next circumstance to which I wish to call the attention of those who do not think the present investigation wholly incurious, is, the *Transpositions* that are found in these plays. In the preceding notes I have frequently observed that not only several lines, but sometimes whole scenes ††, were transposed by Shakspeare.

* See Vol. XIV. p. 210, n. 4.

† See Vol. XII. p. 365, n. 5; and Vol. XI. p. 466, n. 6; Vol. IX. p. 918, n. 9; Vol. IX. p. 138, n. 9.

** In *Othello* both the words---*napkin*, and *handkerchief*, may be found.

†† See p. 145, n. 9; p. 152, n. 8; p. 158, n. 6.

In p. 46, 47, a Messenger, giving an account of the death of the duke of York, says,

“ Environed he was with many foes ;
 “ And stood against them, as the hope of Troy
 “ Against the Greeks, that would have enter'd Troy.
 “ But Hercules himself must yield to odds ;”—

When this passage was printed, not finding any trace of the last three lines in the corresponding part of the old play, I marked them inadvertently as Shakspeare's original composition ; but I afterwards found that he had borrowed them from a subsequent scene on a quite different subject, in which Henry, taking leave of Warwick, says to him,

“ Farewell my Hector, and my Troy's true hope !”

and the last line, “ But Hercules,” &c. is spoken by Warwick near the conclusion of the piece, after he is mortally wounded in the battle of Barnet.

So, in *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke*, &c. after the duke has slain Clifford, he says,

“ Now, Lancaster, sit sure :—thy sinews shrink.”

Shakspeare has not made use of that line in that place, but availed himself of it afterwards, where Edward brings forth Warwick wounded ; *King Henry VI. P. III. Act V. sc. ii* :

“ Now, Mountague, sit fast : I seek for thee,” &c.

Many other transpositions may be traced in these plays, to which I shall only refer in a note.*

Such transpositions as I have noticed, could never have arisen from any carelessness or inaccuracy of transcribers or copyists ; and therefore are to be added to the many other circumstances which prove that *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* as exhibited in the folio, were formed from the materials of a preceding writer.

It is also observable, that many lines are repeated in Shakspeare's *Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*† but no such repetitions are found in the old quarto plays. The repetition undoubtedly arose from Shakspeare's not always following his original strictly, but introducing expressions which had struck him in other parts of the old plays ; and afterwards, forgetting that he had before used such expressions, he suffered them to remain in their original places also.

Another proof that Shakspeare was not the author of *The Contention of the two houses*, &c. is furnished by the inconsistencies into which he has fallen, by sometimes adhering to, and sometimes deviating from, his original : an inaccuracy which may be sometimes observed in his undisputed plays.

One of the most remarkable instances of this kind of inconsi-

* See Vol. XIV. p. 283, n. 6 ; p. 310, n. 2 ; p. 359, n. 7 ; Vol. XV. 138, n. 5 ; p. 172, n. 3 and 4 ; p. 178, n. 7.

† See p. 74, n. 4 ; p. 96, n. 4 ; p. 114, n. 8 ; p. 120, n. 9.

stency is found in *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* Vol. XIV. p. 318, where he makes Henry say,

“ I'll send some holy bishop to entreat,” &c.

a circumstance which he took from Holinshed's Chronicle ; whereas in the old play no mention is made of a bishop on this occasion. The king there says, he will himself come and parley with the rebels, and in the mean time he orders Clifford and Buckingham to gather an army. In a subsequent scene, however, Shakspeare forgot the new matter which he had introduced in the former ; and *Clifford* and *Buckingham* only parley with Cade, &c. conformably to the old play.*

In *Romeo and Juliet* he has fallen into a similar inaccuracy. In the poem on which that tragedy is founded, Romeo, in his interview with the Friar, after sentence of banishment has been pronounced against him, is described as passionately lamenting his fate in the following terms :

“ First nature did he blame, the author of his life,

“ In which his joys had been so scant, and sorrows aye so
rife ;

“ The time and place of birth he fiercely did reprove ;

“ He cryed out with open mouth against the stars above.—

“ On fortune eke he rail'd,” &c.

The friar afterwards reproves him for want of patience. In forming the corresponding scene Shakspeare has omitted Romeo's invective against his fate, but inadvertently copied the friar's remonstrance as it lay before him :

“ Why rail'st thou on thy birth, the heaven, and earth ?”

If the following should be considered as a trifling circumstance, let it be remembered, that circumstances which, separately considered, may appear unimportant, sometimes acquire strength, when united to other proofs of more efficacy ; in my opinion, however, what I shall now mention is a circumstance of considerable weight. It is observable that the priest concerned with Eleanor Cobham Dutcheſs of Gloceſter, in certain pretended operations of magick, for which she was tried, is called by Hall, John *Hum*. So is he named in *The first part of the Contention of the two Houses of Yorke*, &c. the original, as I suppose, of *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* Our author probably thinking the name harsh or ridiculous, softened it to *Hume* ; and by that name this priest is called in his play printed in folio. But in Holinshed he is named *Hun* ; and so undoubtedly, or perhaps for softness, *Hune*, he would have been called in the original quarto play just mentioned, if Shakspeare had been the author of it ; for Holinshed and not Hall

* See also Vol. XIV. p. 207, n. 8 ; Vol. XV. p. 117, n. 4 ; and p. 120, n. 9.

was his guide, as I have shewn incontestably in a note on *King Henry V.* Vol. XIII. p. 282. But Hall was undoubtedly the historian who had been consulted by the original writer of *The Contention of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster*; as appears from his having taken a line from thence, “That *Alexander Iden, an esquire of Kent*,”* and from the scene in which Cardinal Beaufort is exhibited on his death-bed. One part of the particular description of the Cardinal’s death and dying words, in the old quarto play, is founded on a passage in Hall, which Holinshed, though in general a servile copyist of the former chronicler, has omitted. The passage is this: “Dr. John Baker, his pryvie counsailler and hys chapellayn, wrote, that lying on his death-bed he [Cardinal Beaufort] said these words: ‘Why should I dye, havynge so much riches? If the whole realme would save my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by ryches to bye it. Fye! will not death be hyered, nor will money do nothyng?’” From this the writer of the old play formed these lines:

O death, if thou wilt let me live
But one whole year, I’ll give thee as much gold
As will purchase such another island.

which Shakspeare new-modelled thus:

If thou be’st death, I’ll give thee England’s treasure,
Enough to purchase such another island,
So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.

If Shakspeare had been the author of *The first part of the Contention*, &c. finding in his Holinshed the name *Hun*, he would either have preserved it, or softened it to *Hune*. Working on the old play, where he found the name of *Hum*, which sounded ridiculous to his ear, he changed it to *Hume*. But whoever the original writer of the old play was, having used the name of *Hum*, he must have formed his play on Hall’s Chronicle, where alone that name is found. Shakspeare therefore having made Holinshed, and not Hall, his guide, could not have been the writer of it.

It may be remarked, that by the alteration of this priest’s name he has destroyed a rhyme intended by the author of the original play, where Sir John begins a soliloquy with this jingling line:

“Now, Sir John *Hum*, no word but *mum*:
“Seal up your lips, for you must silent be.”

which Shakspeare has altered thus:

“—— But how now, Sir John *Hume*?
“Seal up your lips, and give no words but *mum*.”

Lines rhiming in the middle and end, similar to that above

* See Hall, Henry V. fol. lxxix. Holinshed says, “a gentleman of Kent named Alexander Iden, awaited for his time,” &c.

quoted, are often found in our old English plays, (previous to the time of Shakspeare,) and are generally put into the mouths of priests and friars.

It has already been observed, that in the original play on which *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* is founded, "*Abradas, the Macedonian pirate,*" is mentioned. This hero does not appear in Shakspeare's new-modelled play, "*Bargulus, the strong Illyrian pirate,*" being introduced in his room. *Abradas* is spoken of (as Mr. Steevens has remarked) by Robert Greene, the very person whom I suppose to have been one of the joint authors of the original plays, in a pamphlet, entitled *Penelope's Web*, 1589;—" *Abradas, the great Macedonean pirate, thought every one had a letter of mart that bare fayles in the ocean.*" Of this pirate or his achievements, however celebrated he may have been, I have not found the slightest trace in any book whatsoever, except that above quoted: a singular circumstance, which appears to me strongly to confirm my hypothesis on the present subject; and to support my interpretation of Greene's words in his *Groat'sworth of Witte*, in a former part of the present disquisition.

However this may be, there are certainly very good grounds for believing that *The first part of the Contention of the two houses of York and Lancaster, &c.* and the *True Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* were written by the author or authors of the old *King John*, printed in 1591.

In *The true Tragedie, &c.* we find the following lines:

" *Let England be true within itself,*

" *We need not France, nor any alliance with her.*"

The first of these lines is found, with a very minute variation, in the old *King John*, where it runs thus:

" *Let England live but true within itself,—.*"

Nor is this the only coincidence. In the deservedly admired scene in which Cardinal Beaufort's death is represented, in the original play, (as well as in Shakspeare's *Second Part of King Henry VI.*) he is called upon to hold up his hand, as a proof of his confidence in God:

" *Lord Cardinal,*

" *If thou diest assured of heavenly blisse,*

" *Hold up thy hand, and make some sign to us.*

[*The Cardinal dies.*

" *O see, he dies, and makes no sign at all:*

" *O God, forgive his soule !*"

I quote from the original play.—It is remarkable that a similar proof is demanded in the old play of *King John* also, when that king is expiring:

“ Then, good my lord, if you forgive them all,
 “ Lift up your hand, in token you forgive.”

Again :

“ — in token of thy faith,
 “ And signe thou diest the servant of the Lord,
 “ Lift up thy hand, that we may witnesse here
 “ Thou diest the servant of our Saviour Christ.—
 “ Now joy betide thy soul!”

This circumstance appears to me to add considerable support to my conjecture.

One point only remains. It may be asked, if *The First Part of King Henry VI.* was not written by Shakspeare, why did Heminge and Condell print it with the rest of his works? The only way that I can account for their having done so, is by supposing, either that their memory at the end of thirty years was not accurate concerning our author's pieces, as appears indeed evidently from their omitting *Troilus and Cressida*, which was not recollected by them, till the whole of the first folio, and even the table of contents, (which is always the last work of the press,) had been printed; or, that they imagined the insertion of this historical drama was necessary to understanding the two pieces that follow it; or lastly, that Shakspeare, for the advantage of his own theatre, having written a few lines in *The First Part of King Henry VI.* after his own *Second* and *Third Part* had been played, they conceived this a sufficient warrant for attributing it, along with the others, to him, in the general collection of his works. If Shakspeare was the author of any part of this play, perhaps the second and the following scenes of the fourth act were his; which are for the most part written in rhyme, and appear to me somewhat of a different complexion from the rest of the play. Nor is this the only instance of their proceeding on this ground; for is it possible to conceive that they could have any other reason for giving *Titus Andronicus* a place in their edition of Shakspeare's works, than his having written twenty or thirty lines in that piece, or having retouched a few verses of it; if indeed he did so much?

Shakspeare's referring in the Epilogue to *King Henry V.* which was produced in 1599, to these three parts of *King Henry VI.* of which the first, by whom soever it was written, appears from the testimony of a contemporary to have been exhibited with great applause; * and the two latter, having been, as I conceive, eight years before new-modelled and almost re-written by our author, we may be confident were performed with the most brilliant success; his supplicating the favour of the audience to his new play of *King Henry V.* “for the sake” of these old

* See p. 217, of this Dissertation.

and popular dramas, which were so closely connected with it, and in the composition of which, as they had for many years been exhibited, he had so considerable a share: the connexion between the last scene of *King Henry VI.* and the first scene of *King Richard III.* the Shakspearian diction, versification, and figures, by which the *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* are distinguished; "the easiness of expression and the fluency of numbers," which, it is acknowledged, are found here, and were possessed by no other author of that age; all these circumstances are accounted for by the theory now stated, and all objections * that have been founded upon them, in my apprehension, vanish away.

On the other hand, the entry on the Stationers' books of the old play, entitled *The first part of the Contention of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* without the name of the author; that piece, and *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* being printed in 1600, anonymously; their being founded on the Chronicle of Hall, who was not Shakspeare's historian, and represented by the servants of Lord Pembroke, by whom none of his uncontested dramas were represented; the colour, diction, and versification of these old plays; the various circumstances, lines and speeches, that are found in them, and not in our author's new-modification of them, as published in folio by his original editors; the resemblances that have been noticed between his other works and such parts of these dramas as are only exhibited in their folio edition; the discordances (in matters of fact) between certain parts of the old plays printed in quarto and Shakspeare's undoubted performances; the transpositions that he has made in these pieces; the repetitions, and the peculiar Shakspearian inaccuracies, and phraseology, which may be traced in the folio, and not in the old quarto plays; these and other circumstances, which have been stated in the foregoing pages, form, when united, such a body of argument and proofs, in support of my hypothesis, as appears to me, (though I will not venture to assert that "the probation bears no hinge or loop to hang a doubt on,") to lead directly to the door of truth.

It is observable that several portions of the English History had been dramatized before the time of Shakspeare. Thus, we have *King John* in two parts, by an anonymous writer; *Edward I.* by George Peele; *Edward II.* by Christopher Marlowe; *Edward III.* anonymous; *Henry IV.* containing the deposition of *Richard II.* and the accession of *Henry* to the crown, anony-

* See these several objections stated by Dr. Johnson in the notes at the end of *The Third Part of King Henry VI.*

mous; * *Henry V.* and *Richard III.* both by anonymous authors. † Is it not then highly probable, that the *whole* of the story of *Henry VI.* had also been brought upon the scene? and that the first of the plays now in question, formerly (as I believe) called *The historical play of King Henry VI.* and now named *The First Part of King Henry VI.* as well as *The first part of the Contention of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, &c.* (which three pieces comprehend the entire reign of that king from his birth to his death,) were the composition of some of the authors, who had produced the historical dramas above enumerated?

In consequence of an hasty and inconsiderate opinion formed by Mr. Pope, without any minute examination of the subject, *King John* in two parts, printed in 1591, and *The old Taming of the Shrew*, which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594. and printed in 1607, passed for half a century for the compositions of Shakspeare. Further inquiries have shown that they were the productions of earlier writers; and perhaps a more profound investigation of this subject than I have been able to make, may hereafter prove decisively, that the *first* of the three *Henries* printed in folio, and both the parts of *The Whole Contention of the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, as exhibited in quarto, and printed in 1600, ought to be classed in the same predicament with the two old plays above mentioned. For my own part, if it should ever be thought proper to reprint the old dramas on which Shakspeare founded some of his plays, which were published in two volumes a few years ago, I have no doubt that *The first part of the Contention of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and *The true Tragedie of the duke of Yorke, &c.* should be added to the number.

Gildon somewhere says, that "in a conversation between Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, Ben asked him the reason why he wrote his historical plays." Our author (we are told) replied, that "finding the nation generally very ignorant of history, he wrote them in order to instruct the people in that particular." This anecdote, like many other traditional stories, stands on a very weak foundation; or to speak more justly, it is certainly a fiction. The malignant Ben does indeed, in his *Devil's an Ass*, 1616, sneer at our author's historical pieces, which for twenty years preceding had been in high reputation, and probably were *then* the only historical dramas that had possession of the theatre; but from the list above given, it is clear that Shakspeare was not the *first* who dramatized our old chroni-

* See Vol. XII. p. 2.

† Entered on the Stationers' books in 1594.

cles; and that the principal events of the English History were familiar to the ears of his audience, before he commenced a writer for the stage: * though undoubtedly at this day whatever knowledge of our annals is dispersed among the people, is derived from the frequent exhibition of our author's historical plays.

He certainly did not consider writing on fables that had already been formed into dramas, as any derogation from his fame; if indeed fame was ever an object of his thoughts. We know that plays on the subjects of *Measure for Measure*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *King John*, *King Richard II.* *King Henry IV.* *King Henry V.* *King Richard III.* *King Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and, I strongly suspect, on those of *Hamlet*, *Timon of Athens*, and *Julius Cæ-*

* This point is established not only by the list referred to, but by a passage in a pamphlet already quoted, entitled *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil*, written by Thomas Nashe, quarto, 1592: "Whereas the afternoon being the eldest time of the day, wherein men that are their owne masters (as gentlemen of the Court, the Innes of court, and the number of captaines and soldiers about London) do wholly bestow themselves upon pleasure, and that pleasure they divide (how virtuously it skilles not,) into gaming, following of harlots, drinking, or *seeing a play*; is it not then better, since of foure extreames all the world cannot keepe them but they will choose one, that they should betake them to the least, which is *Playes*? Nay, what if I prove playes to be no extreame, but a rare exercise of vertue? First, for the *subject* of them; *for the most part it is borrowed out of our ENGLISH CHRONICLES*, wherein our fore-fathers' valiant actes, that have been long buried in rustie brasse and worme eaten bookes, are revived, and they themselves raised from the grave of oblivion, and brought to plead their aged honours in open presence; than which, what can be a sharper reproofe to these degenerate dayes of ours?"

After an elogium on the brave Lord Talbot, and on the actor who had personated him in a popular play of that time, "before ten thousand spectators at the least;" (which has already been printed in a former page,) and after observing "what a glorious thing it is to have King Henry the Fifth represented on the stage, leading the French king prisoner, and forcing both him and the Dolphin to swear fealty," -- the writer adds these words:

"In playes, all coufenages, all cunning drifts, over-gilded with outward holinesse, all stratagems of warre, all the canker-wormes that breed in the rust of peace, are most lively anatomized. They show the ill successe of treason, the fall of hasty climbers, *the wretched end of usurpers*, *the miserie of civil dissention*, and how just God is evermore in punishing murder. And to prove every one of these allegations, could I propound the circumstances of this play and that, if I meant to handle this theame otherwise than obiter."

It is highly probable that the words, "*the miserie of civil dissention*," allude to the very plays which are the subjects of the present disquisition, *The first part of the Contention of the two houses*, &c. and *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke*; as, by "*the wretched end of Usurpers*," and the justice of God in "*punishing murder*," old plays on the subject of *King Richard III.* and that of *Hamlet*, prior to those of Shakspeare, were, I believe, alluded to.

far, * existed before he commenced a dramatick author; and perhaps in process of time it may be found, that many of the fables of his *other* plays also had been unskilfully treated, and produced upon the stage, by preceding writers.

Such are the only lights that I am able to throw on this very dark subject. The arguments which I have stated have entirely satisfied my own mind; whether they are entitled to bring conviction to the minds of others, I shall not presume to determine. I produce them, however, with the more confidence, as they have the approbation of one who has given such decisive proofs of his taste and knowledge, by ascertaining the extent of *Shakspeare's* learning, that I have no doubt his thoughts on the present question also, will have that weight with the publick to which they are undoubtedly entitled. It is almost unnecessary to add, that I mean my friend Dr. Farmer; who many years ago delivered it as his opinion, that these plays were not written *originally* by Shakspeare. †
MALONE.

* See *An Attempt to ascertain the order of Shakspeare's Plays*, Vol. II.

† Mr. Theobald's and Dr. Warburton's idea on which the foregoing Dissertation is founded, had received countenance from the opinion of Dr. Farmer. Mr. Malone, with much labour and ingenuity, has given support to the sentiments of these gentlemen; but, in my judgment, if he proves any thing, it is a position hazarded by me long ago; viz. that our author had as much hand in the present dramas, as in several others that pass under his name; for, as I observed in Mr. Malone's *Attempt to ascertain &c.* (article *Macbeth*) "a time may arrive, in which it will become evident from books and manuscripts yet undiscovered and unexamined, that Shakspeare did not attempt a single play on any subject, till the effect of the same story, or at least the ruling incidents in it, had been tried on the stage, and familiarized to his audience;" — a conjecture which in some instances has been already confirmed.

Of the first part of these three Histories, however, it is asserted, that in colour of style &c. it bears no resemblance to the other works of our author. As I think, among the notes on that piece, I have advanced some proofs to the contrary, in this place I shall be content to add, that it as strongly resembles the latter dramas of Shakspeare, as the *Dream of Raphael* resembles his *Transfiguration*. Between the first and last performances of great masters, there is often but a small, if any, degree of resemblance. Sir Joshua Reynolds studied under Hudson, and at first imitated his manner; but is a trace of the almost forgotten master discoverable in the mature and applauded works of the pupil?

STEEVENS.

KING RICHARD III.*

THE END III

* LIFE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD III.] This tragedy, though it is called the Life and Death of this prince, comprizes, at most, but the last eight years of his time; for it opens with George duke of Clarence being clapped up in the Tower, which happened in the beginning of the year 1477; and closes with the death of Richard at Bosworth field, which battle was fought on the 22d of August, in the year 1485. THEOBALD.

It appears that several dramas on the present subject had been written before Shakspeare attempted it. See the notes at the conclusion of this play, which was first entered at Stationers' Hall by Andrew Wise, Oct. 20, 1597, under the title of *The Tragedie of King Richard the Third, with the Death of the Duke of Clarence*. Before this, viz. Aug. 15th, 1586, was entered, *A Tragical report of King Richard the Third, a Ballad*. It may be necessary to remark that the words, *song, ballad, book, enterlude* and *play*, were often synonymously used. STEEVENS.

This play was written, I imagine, in the same year in which it was first printed,—1597. The *Legend of King Richard III.* by Francis Seagars, was printed in the first edition of *The Mirvour for Magistrates*, 1559, and in that of 1575, and 1587, but Shakspeare does not appear to be indebted to it. In a subsequent edition of that book printed in 1610, the old legend was omitted, and a new one inserted, by Richard Nichols, who has very freely copied the play before us. In 1597, when this tragedy was published, Nichols, as Mr. Warton has observed, was but thirteen years old. *Hist. of Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 267.

The real length of time in this piece is fourteen years; (not eight years, as Mr. Theobald supposed;) for the second scene commences with the funeral of King Henry VI. who, according to the received account, was murdered on the 21st of May, 1471. The imprisonment of Clarence, which is represented previously in the first scene, did not in fact take place till 1477-8.

It has been since observed to me by Mr. Elderton, (who is of opinion that Richard was charged with this murder by the Lancastrian historians without any foundation,) that "it appears on the face of the publick accounts allowed in the exchequer for the maintenance of King Henry and his numerous attendants in the Tower, that he lived to the 12th of June, which was twenty-two days after the time assigned for his pretended assassination; was exposed to the publick view in St. Paul's for some days, and interred at Chertsey with much solemnity, and at no inconsiderable expence."

MALONE.

PERSONS represented.

King Edward *the Fourth*.

Edward, *Prince of Wales, afterwards* K. Edward V.

Richard, *duke of York*,

George, *duke of Clarence*,

Richard, *duke of Gloster, afterwards* King Richard III.

} *Sons to the king.*

} *Brothers to the king.*

A young son of Clarence.

Henry, *earl of Richmond, afterwards* K. Henry VII.

Cardinal Bouchier, *Archbishop of Canterbury*.

Thomas Rotheram, *Archbishop of York*. John Morton, *Bishop of Ely*.

Duke of Buckingham.

Duke of Norfolk: Earl of Surrey, his son.

Earl Rivers, brother to King Edward's Queen:

Marquis of Dorset, and Lord Grey, her sons.

Earl of Oxford. Lord Hastings. Lord Stanley.

Lord Lovel.

Sir Thomas Vaughan. Sir Richard Ratcliff.

Sir William Catesby. Sir James Tyrrel.

Sir James Blount. Sir Walter Herbert.

Sir Robert Brakenbury, Lieutenant of the Tower.

Christopher Urswick, a Priest. Another Priest.

Lord Mayor of London. Sheriff of Wiltshire.

Elizabeth, Queen of King Edward IV.

Margaret, widow of King Henry VI.

Dutcheſs of York, mother to King Edward VI. Clarence, and Gloster.

Lady Anne, widow of Edward Prince of Wales, ſon to King Henry VI.; afterwards married to the duke of Gloster.

A young daughter of Clarence.

Lords, and other Attendants; two Gentlemen, a Pursuivant, Scrivener, Citizens, Murderers, Messengers, Ghosts, Soldiers, &c.

S C E N E, England.

LIFE AND DEATH
OF
KING RICHARD III.

ACT I. SCENE I.

London. *A Street.*

Enter GLOSTER.

GLO. Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York;²

² — *this sun of York;*] Alluding to the cognizance of Edward IV. which was *a sun*, in memory of the *three suns*, which are said to have appeared at the battle which he gained over the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross.

So, in Drayton's *Miseries of Queen Margaret*:

"Three *suns* were seen that instant to appear,
"Which soon again shut themselves up in one;
"Ready to buckle as the armies were,
"Which this brave duke took to himself alone:" &c.

Again, in the 22d Song of the *Polyolbion*:

"And thankful to high heaven which of his cause had care,
"Three *suns* for his device still in his ensign bare."

Such phenomena, if we may believe tradition, were formerly not uncommon. In the Wrighte's Play in the *Chester Collection*, M. S. Harl. 1013, the same circumstance is introduced as attending on a more solemn event:

"That day was seene veramente
"Three *sonnes* in the firmament,
"And wonderly together went
"And torned into one." STEEVENS.

See p. 45, n. 4. MALONE.

And all the clouds, that lowr'd upon our house,
 In the deep bosom of the ocean bury'd.
 Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;
 Our bruised arms³ hung up for monuments;
 Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
 Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
 Grim-visag'd war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
 And now,—instead of mounting barbed steeds,⁴

³ *Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;
 Our bruised arms &c.*] So, in *The Rape of Lucrece*:
 “Made glorious by his manly chivalry,
 “With bruised arms and wreaths of victory.” MALONE.

⁴ *Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
 Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
 Grim-visag'd war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
 And now,—instead of mounting barbed steeds, &c.*] So, in *The
 tragical Life and Death of King Richard the Third*, which is one of
 the metrical monologues in a collection entitled, *The Mirrour of
 Magistrates*. The first edition of it appeared in 1559, but the lines
 quoted on the present as well as future occasions throughout this
 play, are not found in any copy before that of 1610, so that the
 author was more probably indebted to Shakspeare, than Shakspeare
 to him.

“—— the battles fought in field before
 “Were turn'd to meetings of sweet amitie;
 “The war-god's thund'ring cannons' dreadful rore,
 “And rattling drum-sounds' warlike harmonie,
 “To sweet-tun'd noise of pleasing minstrelsie.
 “God Mars laid by his launce, and tooke his lute,
 “And turn'd his rugged frownes to smiling lookes;
 “Instead of crimson fields, warre's fatal fruit,
 “He bath'd his limbes in Cypris warbling brookes,
 “And set his thoughts upon her wanton lookes.”

STEEVENS.

Shakspeare seems to have had the following passage from Lyly's
Alexander and Campaspe, 1584, before him, when he wrote these
 lines: “Is the warlike sound of drum and trump turn'd to the soft
 noise of lyre and lute? The neighing of *barbed steeds*, whose loud-
 ness filled the air with terror, and whose breaths dimmed the sun
 with smoak, converted to delicate tunes and amorous glances?” &c.

REED.

To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,—
 He capers⁵ nimbly in a lady's chamber,
 To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.
 But I,—that am not shap'd for sportive tricks,
 Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass;
 I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty,
 To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;

—— *delightful measures.*] A *measure* was, strictly speaking, a court dance of a stately turn, though the word is sometimes employed to express dances in general.

So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“ We'll measure them a *measure*, and be gone.”

See Vol. VII. p. 322, n. 7. STEEVENS.

—— *barbed steeds,*] i. e. steeds caparisoned in a warlike manner. I. Haywarde, in his *Life and Raigne of King Henry IV.* 1599, says,—“ *The duke of Hereford came to the barriers, mounted upon a white courser, barbed with blew and green velvet,*” &c.

Again, in Jarvis Markham's *English Arcadia*, 1607: “ — armed in a black armour, curiously damask'd with inderwinding wreaths of cypress and ewe, his *barbe* upon his horse, all of black abrosetta, cut in broken hoopes upon curled cypresses.”

Again, in the Second Part of *King Henry VI.* by Heywood, 1626:

“ With *barbed* horse, and valiant armed foot.”

Barbed, however, may be no more than a corruption of *barded*. *Equus bardatus*, in the Latin of the middle ages, was a horse adorned with military trappings. I have met with the word *barded* many times in our ancient chronicles and romances. An instance or two may suffice. “ They mounted him surely upon a good and mighty courser, well *barded*,” &c.

Hist. of Helyas Knight of the Swanne, bl. 1. no date.

Again, in Barrett's *Alvearie*, or *Quadruple Dictionary*, 1580:

“ *Bardes* or trappers of horses. *Phaleræ*, Lat.”

Again, Holinshed speaking of the preparations for the battle of Agincourt: “ — to the intent that if the *barded* horses ran fiercely upon them,” &c. Again, from p. 802, we learn, that *bards* and *trappers* had the same meaning. STEEVENS.

See “ A *Barbed* horse,” and “ *Bardes*,” in Minshew's *Dict.* 1617, the latter of which he defines “ *horse trappings*.” MALONE

⁵ *He capers*——] War *capers*. This is poetical, though a little harsh; if it be York that capers, the antecedent is at such a distance, that it is almost forgotten. JOHNSON.

I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
 Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,⁶
 Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
 Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
 And that so lamely and unfashionable,
 That dogs bark at me, as I halt by them;—
 Why I, in this weak piping time of peace,
 Have no delight to pass away the time;
 Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
 And descant on mine own deformity:⁷

⁶ *Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,*] By *dissembling* is not meant *hypocritical* nature, that pretends one thing and does another: but nature that puts together things of a dissimilar kind, as a brave soul and a deformed body. WARBURTON.

Dissembling is here put very licentiously for *fraudful*, *deceitful*.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson hath certainly mistaken, and Dr. Warburton rightly explained the word *dissembling*; as is evident from the following extract: "Whyle thinges stode in this case, and that the manner of addyng was sometime too short and sometime too long, els *dissembled* and let slip together." *Arthur Golding's* translation of *Julius Solinus*, 1587. HENLEY.

I once thought that Dr. Johnson's interpretation was the true one. *Disimulation* necessarily includes *fraud*, and this might have been sufficient to induce Shakspeare to use the two words as synonymous, though fraud certainly may exist without dissimulation. But the following lines in the old *King John*, 1591, which our author must have carefully read, were perhaps in his thoughts, and seem rather in favour of Dr. Warburton's interpretation:

"Can nature so *dissemble* in her frame,
 "To make the one so like may be,
 "And in the other print no character
 "To challenge any mark of true descent?"

⁷ *Feature* is used here, as in other pieces of the same age, for *beauty* in general. See note on *Antony and Cleopatra*, A& II. sc. v.

MALONE.

⁷ *And descant on mine own deformity:*] *Descant* is a term in music, signifying in general that kind of harmony wherein one part is broken and formed into a kind of paraphrase on the other. The propriety and elegance of the above figure, without such an idea of the nature of *descant*, could not be discerned. SIR J. HAWKINS.

And therefore,—since I cannot prove a lover,⁸
 To entertain these fair well-spoken days,⁹—
 I am determined to prove a villain,
 And hate the idle pleasures² of these days.
 Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,³
 By drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams,
 To set my brother Clarence, and the king,
 In deadly hate the one against the other:
 And, if king Edward be as true and just,⁴
 As I am subtle, false, and treacherous,
 This day should Clarence closely be mew'd up;
 About a prophecy, which says—that G
 Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be.

That this is the original meaning of the term, is certain. But I believe the word is here used in its secondary and colloquial sense, without any reference to music. MALONE.

⁸ *And therefore,—since I cannot prove a lover,*] Shakspeare very diligently inculcates, that the wickedness of Richard proceeded from his deformity, from the envy that rose at the comparison of his own person with others, and which incited him to disturb the pleasures that he could not partake. JOHNSON.

⁹ *To entertain these fair well-spoken days,*] I am strongly inclined to think that the poet wrote—these fair well-spoken *dames*, and that the word *days* was caught by the compositor's eye glancing on a subsequent line. So, in the quarto copy of this play, printed in 1612, Signat. I:

“ I, my lord, but I had rather kill two *deep* enemies.

“ King. Why, there thou hast it; two *deep* enemies.”

In the original copy, printed in 1597, the first line is right:
 “ —— *kill two enemies.*” MALONE.

² *And hate the idle pleasures —*] Perhaps we might read:

And bate the idle pleasures — JOHNSON.

³ —— *inductions dangerous,*] Preparations for mischief. The *induction* is preparatory to the action of the play. JOHNSON.

Marston has put this line, with little variation, into the mouth of Fame:

“ Plots ha 'you laid? *inductions dangerous?*” STEEVENS.

⁴ —— *Edward be as true and just,*] The meaning is, if Edward keeps his word. JOHNSON.

Dive, thoughts, down to my soul ! here Clarence comes.

Enter CLARENCE, guarded, and BRAKENBURY.

Brother, good day : What means this armed guard,
That waits upon your grace ?

CLAR. His majesty,
Tendering my person's safety, hath appointed
This conduct to convey me to the Tower.

GLO. Upon what cause ?

CLA. Because my name is—George.

GLO. Alack, my lord, that fault is none of yours ;
He should, for that, commit your godfathers :——
O, belike, his majesty hath some intent,
That you shall be new christen'd in the Tower.
But what's the matter, Clarence ? May I know ?

CLAR. Yea, Richard, when I know ; for, I protest,

As yet I do not : But, as I can learn,
He hearkens after prophecies, and dreams ;⁵
And from the cross-row plucks the letter G,
And says—a wizard told him, that by G
His issue disinherited should be ;

⁵ *He hearkens after prophecies, and dreams ;*] From Holinshed :
“ Some have reported that the cause of this nobleman's death rose
of a foolish prophesie, which wa., that after king Edward should
raign one whose first letter of his name should be a G ; wherewith
the king and the queene were sore troubled, and began to conceive
a grievous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till
they had brought him to his end.” Philip de Comines, a contem-
porary historian, says that the English at that time were never un-
furnished with some prophecy or other, by which they accounted
for every event. MALONE.

And for my name of George begins with G,⁶
It follows in his thought, that I am he:
These, as I learn, and such like toys⁷ as these,
Have mov'd his highness to commit me now.

GLO. Why, this it is, when men are rul'd by
women:—

'Tis not the king, that sends you to the Tower;
My lady Grey his wife, Clarence, 'tis she,
That tempers him to this extremity.⁸
Was it not she, and that good man of worship,
Antony Woodeville, her brother there,⁹
That made him send lord Hastings to the Tower;

⁶ *And, for my name of George begins with G, &c.] So, in Nichols's Tragical Life and Death of Richard III:*

“ By that blind riddle of the letter G,
“ George lost his life; it took effect in me.” STEEVENS.

⁷ — toys —] Fancies, freaks of imagination. JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*, A& I. sc. iv :

“ The very place puts toys of desperation,
“ Without more motive, into every brain.” REED.

⁸ *That tempers him to this extremity.] I have collated the original quarto published in 1597, verbatim with that of 1598.*

In the first copy this line stands thus:

That *tempers* him to this extremity.

and so undoubtedly we should read. To *temper* is to mould, to fashion. So, in *Titus Andronicus* :

“ Now will I to that old Andronicus;
“ And *temper* him, with all the art I have,
“ To pluck proud Lucius from the warlike Goths.”

In the quarto, 1598, *tempts* was corruptly printed instead of *tempers*. The metre being then defective, the editor of the folio supplied the defect by reading—

That *tempts* him to this *harsh* extremity. MALONE.

⁹ — her brother there,] *There* is in this place, according to our author's usual practice, a disyllable. MALONE.

Having no faith (as I have too often been obliged to say) in this disyllabical pronunciation of the adverb—*there*, it is necessary I should add that *Woodeville* is really a trisyllable, and is still so pronounced by a gentleman of that name. STEEVENS.

From whence this present day he is deliver'd?
We are not safe, Clarence, we are not safe.

CLAR. By heaven, I think, there is no man secure,
But the queen's kindred, and night-walking heralds.
That trudge betwixt the king and mistress Shore.
Heard you not, what an humble suppliant
Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery?

GLO. Humbly complaining² to her deity
Got my lord chamberlain his liberty.
I'll tell you what,—I think, it is our way,
If we will keep in favour with the king,
To be her men, and wear her livery:
The jealous o'er-worn widow, and herself,³
Since that our brother dubb'd them gentlewomen,
Are mighty gossips in this monarchy.

BRAK. I beseech your graces both to pardon me;
His majesty hath straitly given in charge,
That no man shall have private conference,
Of what degree soever, with his brother.

GLO. Even so? and please your worship, Braken-
bury,
You may partake of any thing we say:
We speak no treason, man;—We say, the king
Is wise, and virtuous; and his noble queen
Well struck in years;⁴ fair, and not jealous:—

² *Humbly complaining* &c.] I think these two lines might be better given to Clarence. JOHNSON.

³ *The jealous o'er-worn widow, and herself,*] That is, the queen and Shore. JOHNSON.

⁴ *Well struck in years;*] This odd expression in our language was preceded by one as uncouth though of a similar kind.

“*Well shot in years he seem'd*” &c. Spenser's *Faery Queen*, B. V. c. vi: The meaning of neither is very obvious; but as Mr. Warton has observed in his *Essay on The Faery Queen*, by an imperceptible progression from one kindred sense to another, words at length obtain a meaning entirely foreign to their original etymology. STEEVENS.

We say, that Shore's wife hath a pretty foot,
A cherry lip,
A bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue;
And the queen's kindred⁵ are made gentlefolks:
How say you, sir? can you deny all this?

BRAK. With this, my lord, myself have nought
to do.

GLO. Naught to do with mistress Shore? I tell
thee, fellow,
He that doth naught with her, excepting one,
Were best to do it secretly, alone.⁶

BRAK. What one, my lord?

GLO. Her husband, knave:—Would'st thou be-
tray me?

BRAK. I beseech your grace to pardon me; and
withal,
Forbear your conference with the noble duke.

CLAR. We know thy charge, Brakenbury, and
will obey.

GLO. We are the queen's abjects,⁷ and must obey.

⁵ *And the queen's kindred* —] The old copies harshly and un-
necessarily read—

Andt hat the queen's &c. STEEVENS.

⁶ — *alone*.] Surely, the adjective—*alone*, is an interpolation,
as what the Duke is talking of, is seldom undertaken before wit-
nesses. Besides, this word deranges the metre, which, without it,
would be regular:—for instance:

Were best to do it secretly.

What one,

My lord?

Her husband, knave:—Would'st thou betray me?

STEEVENS.

⁷ — *the queen's abjects*,] That is, not the queen's subjects,
whom she might protect, but her *abjects*, whom she drives away.

JOHNSON.

So, in *The Case is altered*. How? Ask Dalio and Milo, 1604:

“ This ougly object, or rather *abject* of nature.”

HENDERSON.

Brother, farewell: I will unto the king;
 And whatsoe'er you will employ me in,—
 Were it, to call king Edward's widow—sister,⁶—
 I will perform it, to enfranchise you.
 Mean time, this deep disgrace in brotherhood,
 Touches me deeper than you can imagine.

CLAR. I know, it pleaseth neither of us well.

GLO. Well, your imprisonment shall not be long;
 I will deliver you, or else lie for you:
 Mean time, have patience.

I cannot approve of Johnson's explanation. Gloster forms a substantive from the adjective *abject*, and uses it to express a lower degree of submission than is implied by the word *subject*, which otherwise he would naturally have made use of. The queen's *abjects*, means the most servile of her subjects, who must of course obey all her commands; which would not be the case of those whom she had driven away from her.

In a preceding page Gloster had said of Shore's wife,

“ ——— I think, it is our way,

“ If we will keep in favour with the king,

“ To be her men, and wear her livery.”

The idea is the same in both places, though the expression differs,—In Jonson's *Every man out of his humour*, Pantarvolo says to Swift:

“ I'll make thee stoop, thou *abject*!” M. MASON.

This substantive was not of Shakspeare's formation. We meet with it in the 35th Psalm, v. 15. “ — yea the very *abjects* came together against me unawares, making mouths at me, and ceased not.” STEEVENS.

⁶ *Were it to call king Edward's widow—sister,*] This is a very covert and subtle manner of insinuating treason. The natural expression would have been, *were it to call king Edward's wife, sister*. I will solicit for you, though it should be at the expence of so much degradation and constraint, as to own the low-born wife of King Edward for a sister. But by slipping, as it were casually, *widow*, into the place of *wife*, he tempts Clarence with an oblique proposal to kill the king. JOHNSON.

King Edward's widow is, I believe, only an expression of contempt, meaning the *widow Grey*, whom Edward had chosen for his queen. Gloster has already called her, *the jealous o'er-worn widow*. STEEVENS.

CLAR. I must perforce;⁷ farewell.

[*Exeunt* CLARENCE. BRAKENBURY, and Guard.

GLO. Go, tread the path that thou shalt ne'er
return,

Simple, plain Clarence!—I do love thee so,
That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven,
If heaven will take the present at our hands.
But who comes here? the new-deliver'd Hastings?

Enter HASTINGS.

HAST. Good time of day unto my gracious lord!

GLO. As much unto my good lord chamberlain!
Well are you welcome to this open air.

How hath your lordship brook'd imprisonment?

HAST. With patience, noble lord, as prisoners
must:

But I shall live, my lord, to give them thanks,
That were the cause of my imprisonment.

GLO. No doubt, no doubt; and so shall Clarence
too;

For they, that were your enemies, are his,
And have prevail'd as much on him, as you.

HAST. More pity, that the eagle should be
mew'd,⁸

While kites and buzzards prey at liberty.

GLO. What news abroad?

HAST. No news so bad abroad, as this at home;—
The king is sickly, weak, and melancholy,

⁷ *I must perforce;*] Alluding to the proverb, "Patience perforce,
is a medicine for a mad dog." STEEVENS.

⁸ ——— *should be mew'd,*] A *mew* was the place of confinement
where a hawk was kept till he had moulted. So, in *Albumazar*:

"Stand forth, transform'd Antonio, fully *mew'd*

"From brown soar feathers of dull yeomanry,

"To the glorious bloom of gentry." STEEVENS.

And his physicians fear him mightily.

GLO. Now, by faint Paul,⁶ this news is bad indeed.

O, he hath kept an evil diet⁷ long,
And over-much consum'd his royal person;
'Tis very grievous to be thought upon.
What, is he in his bed?

HAST. He is.⁸

GLO. Go you before, and I will follow you.

[*Exit* HASTINGS.

He cannot live, I hope; and must not die,
Till George be pack'd with posthorse up to heaven.
I'll in, to urge his hatred more to Clarence,
With lies well steel'd with weighty arguments;
And, if I fail not in my deep intent,
Clarence hath not another day to live:
Which done, God take king Edward to his mercy,
And leave the world for me to bustle in!
For then I'll marry Warwick's youngest daughter:⁹
What though I kill'd her husband, and her father?
The readiest way to make the wench amends,
Is—to become her husband, and her father:
The which will I; not all so much for love,
As for another secret close intent,
By marrying her, which I must reach unto.
But yet I run before my horse to market:
Clarence still breathes; Edward still lives, and
reigns;

When they are gone, then must I count my gains.

[*Exit*,

⁶ *Now, by Saint Paul,*] The folio reads:

Now, by saint John.——. STEEVENS.

⁷ —— *an evil diet* ——] i. e. a bad regimen. STEEVENS.

⁸ *He is.*] Sir Thomas Hanmer very properly completes this broken verse, by reading:

He is, my lord. STEEVENS.

⁹ —— *Warwick's youngest daughter:*] See p. 124, n. 3. STEEVENS.

SCENE II.

The same. Another Street.

Enter the corpse of King Henry the Sixth, borne in an open coffin, Gentlemen bearing halberds, to guard it; and Lady Anne as mourner.

ANNE. Set down, set down your honourable load,—

If honour may be shrouded in a hearse,—
 Whilst I a while obsequiously lament²
 The untimely fall of virtuous Lancaster.—
 Poor key-cold³ figure of a holy king!
 Pale ashes of the house of Lancaster!
 Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood;
 Be it lawful that I invoke thy ghost,
 To hear the lamentations of poor Anne,
 Wife to thy Edward, to thy slaughter'd son,
 Stabb'd by the self-same hand that made these
 wounds!

Lo, in these windows, that let forth thy life,
 I pour the helpless balm of my poor eyes:—
 O, cursed be the hand, that made these holes!

² ——— obsequiously lament ———] *Obsequious*, in this instance, means *funereal*. So in *Hamlet*, A& I. sc. ii:

“To do obsequious sorrow.” STEEVENS.

³ ——— key-cold ———] A key, on account of the coldness of the metal of which it is composed, was anciently employed to stop any slight bleeding. The epithet is common to many old writers; among the rest, it is used by Decker in his *Satiromastix*, 1602:

“— It is best you hide your head, for fear your wife brains take key-cold.”

Again, in *The Country Girl*, by T. B. 1647:

“The key-cold figure of a man.” STEEVENS.

Again, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

“And then in key-cold Lucrece' bleeding stream

“He falls ———.” MALONE.

Curfed the heart, that had the heart to do it!
 Curfed the blood, that let this blood from hence!
 More direful hap betide that hated wretch,
 That makes us wretched by the death of thee,
 Than I can wifh to adders, fpiders, toads,
 Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives!
 If ever he have child, abortive be it,
 Prodigious, and untimely brought to light,
 Whofe ugly and unnatural afpect
 May fright the hopeful mother at the view;
 And that be heir to his unhappinefs!⁴
 If ever he have wife, let her be made
 More miserable by the death of him,
 Than I am made by my young lord, and thee!—
 Come, now, toward Chertfey with your holy load,
 Taken from Paul's to be interred there;
 And, ftill as you are weary of the weight,
 Reft you, whiles I lament king Henry's corfe.

[The Bearers take up the corpf, and advance.]

Enter GLOSTER.

GLO. Stay you, that bear the corfe and fet it
 down.

ANNE. What black magician conjures up this
 fiend,

To ftop devoted charitable deeds?

GLO. Villains, fet down the corfe; or, by faint Paul,
 I'll make a corfe of him that difobeys.⁵

⁴ ———to his unhappinefs!] i. e. difpofition to mischief. So, in *Much ado about nothing*: “ Dream'd of unhappinefs, and wak'd herfelf with laughing.” STEEVENS.

See Vol. X. p. 292, n. 7; and Vol. VI. p. 266, n. 9.

MALONE.

⁵ I'll make a corfe of him that difobeys.] So, in *Hamlet*:

“ I'll make a ghof of him that lets me.” JOHNSON.

1. GENT. My lord, stand back, and let the coffin pass.

GLO. Unmanner'd dog! stand thou when I command:

Advance thy halberd higher than my breast,
Or, by saint Paul, I'll strike thee to my foot,
And spurn upon thee, beggar, for thy boldness.

[*The bearers set down the coffin.*]

ANNE. What, do you tremble? are you all afraid?
Alas, I blame you not; for you are mortal
And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.—
Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell!

Thou hadst but power over his mortal body.
His soul thou canst not have; therefore, be gone.

GLO. Sweet saint, for charity, be not so curst.

ANNE. Foul devil, for God's sake, hence, and
trouble us not;

For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell,
Fill'd it with cursing cries, and deep exclaims.
If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,
Behold this pattern of thy butcheries:⁶—
O, gentlemen, see, see! dead Henry's wounds
Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afresh!⁷—

⁶ — pattern of thy butcheries:] *Pattern is instance, or example.*

JOHNSON.

So, in *The Legend of Lord Hastings, Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1587:

“By this my *pattern*, all ye peers, beware.” MALONE.

Holinshed says: “The dead corps on the Ascension even was conveyed with billes and glaives pompouslie (if you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of saint Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffen bare-faced; the same in the presence of the beholders did bleed; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thence he was carried to the Black-friers, and bled there likewise;” &c. STEEVENS.

⁷ ———see! dead Henry's wounds

Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afresh!] It is a tradition very generally received, that the murdered body bleeds on the

Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity ;
 For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood
 From cold and empty veins, where no blood dwells ;
 Thy deed, inhuman, and unnatural,
 Provokes this deluge most unnatural.——

O God, which this blood mad'st, revenge his
 death !

O earth, which this blood drink'st, revenge his
 death !

Either, heaven, with lightning strike the murderer
 dead,

Or, earth, gape open wide, and eat him quick ;
 As thou dost swallow up this good king's blood,
 Which his hell-govern'd arm hath butchered !

GLO. Lady, you know no rules of charity,
 Which renders good for bad, blessings for curses.

ANNE. Villain, thou know'st no law of God nor
 man ;

touch of the murderer. This was so much believed by sir Kenelm
 Digby, that he has endeavoured to explain the reason. JOHNSON.

So, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592 :

“ The more I found his name, the more he bleeds :

“ This blood condemns me, and in gushing forth

“ Speaks as it falls, and asks me why I did it.”

Again, in *The Widow's Tears*, by Chapman, 1612 :

“ The captain will assay an old conclusion often approved ;
 that at the murderer's sight the blood revives again and boils afresh ;
 and every wound has a condemning voice to cry out guilty against
 the murderer. ”

Again, in the 46th *Idea* of Drayton :

“ If the vile actors of the heinous deed,

“ Near the dead body happily be brought,

“ Oft this hath been prov'd the breathless corps will bleed.”

Mr. Tollet observes that opinion seems to be derived from
 the ancient Swedes, or Northern nations from whom we descend ;
 for they practised this method of trial in dubious cases, as appears
 from Pitt's *Atlas*, in Sweden, p. 20. STEEVENS.

See also *Demonologie*, 4to. 1603, p. 79 ; and *Goulart's Admirable and Memorable Histories*, translated by Grimeston, 4to. 1607, p. 422. REED.

No beast so fierce, but knows some touch of pity.

GLO. But I know none, and therefore am no
beast.

ANNE. O wonderful, when devils tell the truth!

GLO. More wonderful, when angels are so an-
gry.—

Vouchsafe, divine perfection of a woman,
Of these supposed evils, to give me leave,
By circumstance, but to acquit myself.

ANNE. Vouchsafe, diffus'd infection of a man,^s
For these known evils, but to give me leave,
By circumstance, to curse thy cursed self.

GLO. Fairer than tongue can name thee, let me
have
Some patient leisure to excuse myself.

ANNE. Fouler than heart can think thee, thou
canst make
No excuse current, but to hang thyself.

GLO. By such despair, I should accuse myself.

ANNE. And, by despairing, shalt thou stand ex-
cus'd;
For doing worthy vengeance on thyself,
That didst unworthy slaughter upon others.

GLO. Say, that I slew them not?

^s *Vouchsafe, diffus'd infection of a man,*] I believe, *diffus'd* in this place signifies *irregular, uncouth*; such is its meaning in other passages of Shakspeare. JOHNSON.

Diffus'd infection of a man may mean, thou that art as dangerous as a pestilence, that infects the air by its diffusion, *Diffus'd* may, however, mean *irregular*. So, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*:

“ ———ruth at once

“ With some *diffused* song.”

Again, in *Green's Farewell to Follie*, 1617:

“ I have seen an English gentleman so *defused* in his fates; his doublet being for the weare of Castile, his hose for Venice,” &c.

STEEVENS.

ANNE. Why then, they are not dead :⁷
But dead they are, and, devilish slave, by thee.

GLO. I did not kill your husband.

ANNE. Why, then he is alive.

GLO. Nay, he is dead ; and slain by Edward's
hand.

ANNE. In thy foul's throat⁸ thou liest ; queen
Margaret saw

Thy murderous faulchion smoking in his blood ;
The which thou once didst bend against her breast,
But that thy brothers beat aside the point.

GLO. I was provoked by her slanderous tongue,
That laid their guilt⁹ upon my guiltless shoulders.

ANNE. Thou wast provoked by thy bloody mind,
That never dreamt on aught but butcheries :
Didst thou not kill this king ?

GLO. I grant ye.²

ANNE. Dost grant me, hedge-hog ? then, God
grant me too,

Thou may'st be damned for that wicked deed !

O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous.

GLO. The fitter for the King of heaven that hath
him.³

⁷ *Why then, they are not dead :*] Thus the quarto. The folio reads : *Then say, they are not slain.* MALONE.

⁸ — *thy foul's throat* —] The folio—*thy soul throat.* STEEVENS.

⁹ *That laid their guilt* —] The crime of my brothers. He has just charged the murder of lady Anne's husband upon Edward.

JOHNSON.

² *I grant ye,*] Read, to perfect the measure :

I grant ye, yea. RITSON.

One of the quartos, instead of—*ye,* reads—*yea.* STEEVENS.

³ *O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous.*

Glo. *The fitter for the King of heaven &c.*] So, in *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, 1609 :

“ I'll do't : but yet she is a goodly creature.

“ *Dion.* The fitter then the gods should have her.” STEEVENS.

ANNE. He is in heaven, where thou shalt never come.

GLO. Let him thank me, that help to send him thither;

For he was fitter for that place, than earth.

ANNE. And thou unfit for any place, but hell.

GLO. Yes, one place else, if you will hear me name it.

ANNE. Some dungeon.⁴

GLO. Your bedchamber.

ANNE. Ill rest betide the chamber where thou liest!

GLO. So will it, madam, 'till I lie with you.

ANNE. I hope so.

GLO. I know so.—But, gentle lady Anne,—
To leave this keen encounter of our wits,
And fall somewhat into a slower method;⁵—
Is not the causer of the timeless deaths
Of these Plantagenets, Henry, and Edward,
As blameful as the executioner?

ANNE. Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd effect.⁶

⁴ *Some dungeon.*] As most of the measure throughout this scene is regular, I cannot help suspecting that our author originally wrote:
Some dungeon, perhaps.

Your bedchamber. STEEVENS.

⁵ — a slower method;] As *quick* was used for *spritely*, so *slower* was put for *serious*. In the next scene lord Grey desires the queen to

— cheer his grace with *quick* and merry words.

STEEVENS.

⁶ *Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd effect,*] *Effect*, for executioner. He asks, was not the *causer* as ill as the *executioner*? She answers, Thou wast both. But, for *causer*, using the word *cause*, this let her to the word *effect*, for *execution*, or *executioner*. But

GLO. Your beauty was the cause of that effect;
Your beauty, which did haunt me in my sleep,
To undertake the death of all the world,
So I might live one hour in your sweet bosom.

ANNE. If I thought that, I tell thee, homicide,
These nails should rend that beauty from my cheeks.

GLO. These eyes could not endure that beauty's
wreck,
You should not blemish it, if I stood by:
As all the world is cheered by the sun,
So I by that; it is my day, my life.

ANNE. Black night o'ershade thy day, and death
thy life!

GLO. Curse not thyself, fair creature; thou art
both.

ANNE. I would I were, to be reveng'd on thee.

GLO. It is a quarrel most unnatural,
To be reveng'd on him that loveth thee.

ANNE. It is a quarrel just and reasonable,
To be reveng'd on him that kill'd my husband.

the Oxford editor, troubling himself with nothing of this, will
make a fine oratorical period of it:

Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd the effect.

WARBURTON.

I cannot but be rather of Sir T. Hanmer's opinion than Dr.
Warburton's, because *effect* is used immediately in its common
sense, in answer to this line. JOHNSON.

I believe the obvious sense is the true one. So, in *The Yorkshire
Tragedy*, 1608:

"—— thou art the *cause*,

"*Effect*, quality, property; thou, thou."

Again, in *King Henry IV.* P. II. "I have read the *cause* of his
effects in Galen."

Again, in Sidney's *Arcadia*, Book II:

"Both *cause*, *effect*, beginning, and the end,

"Are all in me." STEEVENS.

Our author, I think, in another place uses *effect*, for *efficient*
cause. MALONE.

GLO. He that bereft thee, lady, of thy husband,
Did it to help thee to a better husband.

ANNE. His better doth not breathe upon the
earth.

GLO. He lives, that loves you better than he
could.

ANNE. Name him.

GLO. Plantagenet.

ANNE. Why, that was he.

GLO. The self-same name, but one of better na-
ture.

ANNE. Where is he?

GLO. Here: [*She spits at him.*] Why
dost thou spit at me?

ANNE. 'Would it were mortal poison, for thy
sake!

GLO. Never came poison from so sweet a place.

ANNE. Never hung poison on a fouler toad.

Out of my sight! thou dost infect mine eyes.

GLO. Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.

ANNE. 'Would they were basilisks, to strike thee
dead!⁶

⁶ 'Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead!] " Among the
serpents the *Basiliske* doth infecte and kill people with his looke."
Summary of Secret Wonders &c. bl. l. by John Alday, no date.

STEEVENS.

So, in *The Winter's Tale*:

" Make me not sighted like the basilisk;

" I have look'd on thousands, who have sped the better

" By my regard, but kill'd none so."

See also *King Henry VI.* P. II. Vol. XIV. p. 266, n. 9. MALONE.

In *Cornucopia*, &c. 1596, Sig. B 4: " The eye of the *Basiliske*
is so odious to man, that it fleeth man before he come nere him,
even by looking upon him." REED.

GLO. I would they were, that I might die at
once;

For now they kill me with a living death.⁷

Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt
tears,

Sham'd their aspects with store of childish drops:
These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear,⁸ —
Not, when my father⁹ York and Edward wept,
To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made,
When black-fac'd Clifford shook his sword at him:
Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,
Told the sad story of my father's death;
And twenty times made pause, to sob, and weep,

⁷ ——— *they kill me with a living death.*] In imitation of this passage, and, I suppose, of a thousand more, Pope writes:

“ ——— a living death I bear,

“ Says Dapperwit, and sunk beside his chair.” JOHNSON.

The same conceit occurs in *The trimming of Thomas Nash*, 1597:
“ How happy the rat, caught in a trap, and there dies a living
death?”

Again, in Phineas Fletcher's *Locusts, or Apollyonists*, 4to. 1637:

“ It lives, yet's death: it pleases full of paine;

“ Monster! ah who, who can thy beeing faigne?

“ Thou shapelesse shape, live death, paine pleasing, servile
raigne.” STEEVENS.

So, in Watson's Sonnets, printed about 1580:

“ Love is a sowre delight, a sugred grieve,

“ A living death, an ever-dying life.”

We have again the same expression in *Venus and Adonis*,

“ For I have heard it [love] is a life in death,

“ That laughs and weeps, and all but with a breath.”

MALONE.

⁸ *These eyes, which never &c.*] The twelve following beautiful lines added after the first editions. POPE.

They were added with many more. JOHNSON.

⁹ Not, when my father —] The old copies read — *No, when, &c.* The correction was made by Mr. Pope. I am not sure that it is necessary.

This doubt derives strength from a subsequent passage:

“ Dutch. I hope he is much grown since last I saw him.

“ Q. Eliz. But I hear, no.” MALONE.

That all the flanders-by had wet their cheeks,
 Like trees bedash'd with rain : in that sad time,
 My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear ;²
 And what these sorrows could not thence exhale,
 Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.
 I never su'd to friend, nor enemy ;
 My tongue could never learn sweet soothing word ;³
 But now thy beauty is propos'd my fee,
 My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to
 speak. *[She looks scornfully at him.]*

Teach not thy lip such scorn ; for it was made
 For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.
 If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,
 Lo ! here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword ;
 Which if thou please to hide in this true breast,
 And let the soul forth that adareth thee,
 I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
 And humbly beg the death upon my knee.

[He lays his breast open ; she offers at it with his sword.]
 Nay, do not pause ; for I did kill king Henry ;—
 But 'twas thy beauty⁴ that provoked me.
 Nay, now despatch ; 'twas I that stabb'd young
 Edward ;— *[She again offers at his breast.]*
 But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.
[She lets fall the sword.]

² *My manly eyes did scorn &c.]* Here is an apparent reference to *King Henry VI.* P. III. A& II. sc. i. See above p. 46, n. 7.

STEEVENS.

³ — *sweet soothing word ;]* Thus the quarto, 1598. The folio has — *sweet smoothing word.* MALONE.

Smooth is, probably, the true reading. So again, p. 283, line 2 :

“ Smile in men's faces, *smooth*, deceive, and cog.”

See also *Pericles*, A& I. sc. ii. STEEVENS.

⁴ *But 'twas thy beauty—*] Shakspeare countenances the observation, that no woman can ever be offended with the mention of her beauty. JOHNSON.

Take up the sword again, or take up me.

ANNE. Arise, dissembler; though I wish thy death,
I will not be thy executioner.

GLO. Then bid me kill myself, and I will do it.

ANNE. I have already.

GLO. That was in thy rage:

Speak it again, and, even with the word,

This hand, which, for thy love, did kill thy love,

Shall, for thy love, kill a far truer love;

To both their deaths shalt thou be accessory.

ANNE. I would, I knew thy heart.

GLO. 'Tis figur'd in

My tongue.

ANNE. I fear me, both are false.

GLO. Then man

Was never true.^a

ANNE. Well, well, put up your sword.

GLO. Say then, my peace is made.

ANNE. That shall you know

Hereafter.

GLO. But shall I live in hope?

ANNE. All men,

I hope, live so.

GLO. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

ANNE. To take, is not to give.

[*She puts on the ring.*

GLO. Look, how this ring encompasseth thy finger,

Even so thy breast encloseth my poor heart;

Wear both of them, for both of them are thine.

^a *Then man*

Was never true.] Old copy —

Then never man was true.

For the sake of measure, I have hazarded this slight transposition.

STEEVENS.

And if thy poor devoted servant may
But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.

ANNE. What is it?

GLO. That it may please you leave these sad designs

To him that hath more cause³ to be a mourner,
And presently repair to Crosby-place:⁴
Where—after I have solemnly interr'd,
At Chertsey monast'ry this noble king,
And wet his grave with my repentant tears,—
I will with all expedient duty⁵ see you:
For divers unknown reasons, I beseech you,
Grant me this boon.

ANNE. With all my heart; and much it joys me too,

To see you are become so penitent.—
Tressel, and Berkley, go along with me.

GLO. Bid me farewell.

ANNE. 'Tis more than you deserve:

³ — more *cause* —] The folio — *most* cause. STEEVENS.

⁴ — Crosby-place:] A house near Bishopsgate-street, belonging to the duke of Gloster. JOHNSON.

Crosby-Place is now *Crosby-square* in Bishopsgate-street; part of the house is yet remaining, and is a meeting place for a presbyterian congregation. SIR J. HAWKINS.

This magnificent house was built in the year 1466, by Sir John Crosby, grocer and woolman. He died in 1475. The ancient Hall of this fabrick is still remaining, though divided by an additional floor, and incumbered by modern galleries, having been converted into a place of worship for Antinomians, &c. The upper part of it is now the warehouse of an eminent Packer.

Sir J. Crosby's tomb is in the neighbouring church of St. Helen the Great. STEEVENS.

⁵ — with all expedient duty —] See Vol. XII. p. 39, n. 7.
MALONE.

But, since you teach me how to flatter you,
Imagine I have said farewell already.⁶

[*Exeunt Lady ANNE, Treffel, and Berkley.*

GLO. Take up the corse, firs.

GEN. Towards Chertsey, noble lord?

GLO. No, to White-Fryars; there attend my
coming. [*Exeunt the rest, with the corse.*

Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?

Was ever woman in this humour won?

I'll have her,—but I will not keep her long.

What! I, that kill'd her husband, and his father,

To take her in her heart's extremest hate;

With curses in her mouth, tears in her eyes,

The bleeding witness of her hatred by;

With God, her conscience, and these bars against me,

And I no friends to back my suit withal,

But the plain devil, and dissembling looks,

And yet to win her,—all the world to nothing!

Ha!

Hath she forgot already that brave prince,

Edward, her lord, whom I, some three months since,

Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewksbury?⁷

A sweeter and a lovelier gentleman,—

⁶ *Imagine I have said farewell already.*] Cibber, who altered *King Richard III.* for the stage, was so thoroughly convinced of the ridiculousness and improbability of this scene, that he thought himself obliged to make Treffel say:

When future chronicles shall speak of this,

They will be thought romance, not history. STEEVENS.

⁷ ——— *whom, I some three months since,*

Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewksbury?] Here we have the exact time of this scene ascertained, namely August 1471. King Edward however is in the second act introduced dying. That king died in April 1483; so there is an interval between this and the next act of almost twelve years. Clarence, who is represented in the preceding scene as committed to the Tower before the burial of King Henry VI. was in fact not confined nor put to death till seven years afterwards, March, 1477-8. MALONE.

Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,⁸
 Young, valiant, wise, and, no doubt, right royal,⁹—
 The spacious world cannot again afford :
 And will she yet abase her eyes on me,
 That cropp'd the golden prime of this sweet prince,
 And made her widow to a woful bed?
 On me, whose all not equals Edward's moiety?
 On me, that halt, and am mishapen thus?
 My dukedom to a beggarly denier,²
 I do mistake my person all this while :
 Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,
 Myself to be a marvellous proper man.³
 I'll be at charges for a looking-glass;
 And entertain a score or two of tailors,
 To study fashions to adorn my body:

⁸ *Fram'd in the prodigality of nature.*] i. e. when nature was in a prodigal or lavish mood. WARBURTON.

⁹ ——— *and, no doubt, right royal,*] Of the degree of royalty belonging to Henry the sixth there could be no doubt, nor could Richard have mentioned it with any such hesitation; he could not indeed very properly allow him *royalty*. I believe we should read:
 ——— *and, no doubt, right loyal.*

That is, *true to her bed*. He enumerates the reasons for which she should love him. He was *young, wise, and valiant*; these were apparent and indisputable excellencies. He then mentions another not less likely to endear him to his wife, but which he had less opportunity of knowing with certainty, *and, no doubt, right loyal*.
 JOHNSON.

Richard is not speaking of king Henry, but of Edward his son, whom he means to represent as *full of all the noble properties of a king*. *No doubt, right royal*, may, however, be ironically spoken, alluding to the incontinence of Margaret, his mother. STEEVENS.

² ——— *a beggarly denier,*] A *denier* is the twelfth part of a French sou, and appears to have been the usual request of a *beggar*. So, in *The Cunning Northerne Beggar*, bl. l. an ancient ballad:

“ For still will I cry, good your worship, good sir,

“ Bestow one poor *denier*, Sir.” STEEVENS.

³ ——— *a marvellous proper man.*] *Marvellous* is here used adverbially. *Proper* in old language was *handsome*. See Vol. VIII. p. 20, n. 9. MALONE.

Since I am crept in favour with myself,
I will maintain it with some little cost.
But, first, I'll turn yon' fellow in his grave;
And then return lamenting to my love.—
Shine out, fair sun, 'till I have bought a glafs,
That I may see my shadow as I pass. [Exit.

SCENE III.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

Enter Queen ELIZABETH, Lord RIVERS, and Lord GREY.

RIV. Have patience, madam ; there's no doubt,
his majesty
Will soon recover his accustom'd health.

GREY. In that you brook it ill, it makes him
worse :

Therefore, for God's sake, entertain good comfort,
And cheer his grace with quick and merry words.

Q. ELIZ. If he were dead, what would betide of
me ?

GREY. No other harm, but loss of such a lord.

Q. ELIZ. The loss of such a lord includes all
harms.

GREY. The heavens have bless'd you with a
goodly son,

To be your comforter, when he is gone.

Q. ELIZ. Ah, he is young ; and his minority
Is put unto the trust of Richard Gloster,
A man that loves not me, nor none of you.

RIV. Is it concluded, he shall be protector ?

Q. ELIZ. It is determin'd, not concluded yet :⁴
But so it must be, if the king miscarry.

Enter BUCKINGHAM *and* STANLEY.

GREY. Here come the lords of Buckingham and Stanley.⁵

BUCK. Good time of day unto your royal grace!

STAN. God make your majesty joyful as you have been!

Q. ELIZ. The countess Richmond,⁶ good my lord of Stanley,

To your good prayer will scarcely say—amen.
Yet, Stanley, notwithstanding she's your wife,
And loves not me, be you, good lord, assur'd,
I hate not you for her proud arrogance.

⁴ *It is determin'd, not concluded yet :*] *Determin'd* signifies the final conclusion of the will : *concluded*, what cannot be altered by reason of some act, consequent on the final judgment.

WARBURTON.

⁵ *Here come the lords of Buckingham and Stanley.*] [Old copies—*Derby.*] This is a blunder of inadvertence, which has run through the whole chain of impressions. It could not well be original in Shakspeare, who was most minutely intimate with his history, and the intermarriages of the nobility. The person here called Derby, was Thomas lord Stanley, lord steward of King Edward the fourth's household. But this Thomas lord Stanley was not created earl of Derby till after the accession of Henry the seventh; and accordingly, afterwards, in the fourth and fifth acts of this play, before the battle of Bosworth-field, he is every where called lord Stanley. This sufficiently justifies the change I have made in his title. THEOBALD.

⁶ *The countess Richmond,*] Margaret, daughter to John Beaufort, first duke of Somerset. After the death of her first husband, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, half-brother to K. Henry VI. by whom she had only one son, afterwards K. Henry VII. she married first Sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Humphrey duke of Buckingham. MALONE.

STAN. I do beseech you, either not believe
The envious flanders of her false accusers;
Or, if she be accus'd on true report,
Bear with her weakness, which, I think, proceeds
From wayward sickness, and no grounded malice.

Q. ELIZ. Saw you the king to-day, my lord of
Stanley?

STAN. But now, the duke of Buckingham, and I,
Are come from visiting his majesty.

Q. ELIZ. What like lihood of his amendment,
lords?

BUCK. Madam, good hope; his grace speaks
cheerfully.

Q. ELIZ. God grant him health! Did you con-
fer with him?

BUCK. Ay, madam: he desires to make atone-
ment

Between the duke of Gloster and your brothers,
And between them and my lord chamberlain;
And sent to warn them⁷ to his royal presence.

Q. ELIZ. 'Would all were well!—But that will
never be;—

I fear, our happiness is at the height.

Enter GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and DORSET.

GLO. They do me wrong, and I will not endure
it:—

Who are they, that complain unto the king,
That I, forsooth, am stern, and love them not?
By holy Paul, they love his grace but lightly,
That fill his ears with such dissentious rumours.

⁷ ——— to warn them —] i. e. to summon. So, in *Julius Cæsar*:
“ They mean to warn us at Philippi here.” STEEVENS.

Because I cannot flatter, and speak fair,
Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog,
Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,⁸
I must be held a rancorous enemy.

Cannot a plain man live, and think no harm,
But thus his simple truth must be abus'd
By filken, fly, insinuating Jacks?⁹

GREY. To whom in all this presence speaks your
grace?

GLO. To thee, that hast nor honesty, nor grace.
When have I injur'd thee? when done thee
wrong?—

Or thee?—or thee?—or any of your faction?
A plague upon you all! His royal grace,—
Whom God preserve better than you would wish!—
Cannot be quiet scarce a breathing-while,
But you must trouble him with lewd complaints.²

Q. ELIZ. Brother of Gloster, you mistake the
matter:

⁸ ————*speak fair,*
Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog,
Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,] An importation of
artificial manners seems to have afforded our ancient poets a never
failing topic of invective. So, in *A Tragical Discourse of the Hap-*
lesse Man's life, by Churchyard, 1598:

“ We make a legge, and kisse the hand withal,
“ (A French device, nay sure a Spanish trick)
“ And speake in print, and say loe at your call
“ I will remaine your owne both dead and quicke,
“ A courtier so can give a lobbe a licke,
“ And dresse a dolt in motley for a while,
“ And so in sleeue at filly woodcocke smile.” STEEVENS.

⁹ ————*insinuating Jacks?*] See Vol. VI. p. 233, n. 6. MALONE.

² ————*with lewd complaints.*] *Lewd*, in the present instance,
signifies *rude, ignorant*; from the Anglo Saxon *Laewede*, a *Laick*.
Chaucer often uses the word *lewd*, both for a *laick* and an *igno-*
rant person. See Ruddiman's Glossary to Gawin Douglas's Trans-
lation of the *Æneid*. STEEVENS.

The king, of his own royal disposition,
 And not provok'd by any suitor else;
 Aiming, belike, at your interior hatred,
 That in your outward action shows itself,
 Against my children, brothers, and myself,
 Makes him to send; that thereby he may gather
 The ground of your ill-will,² and so remove it.

GLO. I cannot tell;—The world is grown so bad,
 That wrens may prey³ where eagles dare not perch:
 Since every Jack became a gentleman,⁴
 There's many a gentle person made a Jack.

Q. ELIZ. Come, come, we know your meaning,
 brother Gloster;
 You envy my advancement, and my friends;
 God grant, we never may have need of you!

GLO. Meantime, God grants that we have need
 of you:
 Our brother is imprison'd by your means,
 Myself disgrac'd, and the nobility

² — of your ill-will, &c.] This line is restored from the first edition. POPE.

By the first edition Mr. Pope, as appears from his *Table of Editions*, means the quarto of 1598. But that and the subsequent quartos read—and to remove. The emendation was made by Mr. Steevens. The folio has only—

Makes him to send, that he may learn the ground—.

Here clearly a line was omitted; yet had there been no quarto copy, it would have been thought hardy to supply the omission: but of all the errors of the press omission is the most frequent; and it is a great mistake to suppose that these *lacunæ* exist only in the imagination of editors and commentators. MALONE.

³ — may prey—] The quarto 1598 and the folio read—*make prey*. The correction, which all the modern editors have adopted, is taken from the quarto, 1602. MALONE.

⁴ *Since every Jack became a gentleman,*] This proverbial expression at once demonstrates the origin of the term *Jack* so often used by Shakspeare. It means one of the very lowest class of people, amongst whom this name is of the most common and familiar kind.

DOUCE.

Held in contempt ; while great promotions
Are daily given, to enoble those
That scarce, some two days since, were worth a
noble.

Q. ELIZ. By Him, that rais'd me to this careful
height

From that contented hap which I enjoy'd,
I never did incense his majesty
Against the duke of Clarence, but have been
An earnest advocate to plead for him.
My lord, you do me shameful injury,
Falsely to draw me in these vile suspects.

GLO. You may deny that you were not the cause
Of my lord Hastings' late imprisonment.

RIV. She may, my lord ; for——

GLO. She may, lord Rivers ?—why, who knows
not so ?

She may do more, sir, than denying that :
She may help you to many fair preferments ;
And then deny her aiding hand therein,
And lay those honours on your high desert.
What may she not ? She may,—ay, marry, may she,—

RIV. What, marry, may she ?

GLO. What, marry, may she ? marry with a king,
A bachelor, a handsome stripling too :
I wis, your grandam had a worser match.

Q. ELIZ. My lord of Gloster, I have too long
borne

Your blunt upbraidings, and your bitter scoffs :
By heaven, I will acquaint his majesty,
Of those gross taunts I often have endur'd.
I had rather be a country servant-maid,
Than a great queen, with this condition—
To be so baited, scorn'd, and storm'd at :
Small joy have I in being England's queen.

Enter Queen MARGARET, behind.

Q. MAR. And lessen'd be that small, God, I beseech thee!

Thy honour, state, and seat, is due to me.

GLO. What! threat you me with telling of the king?

Tell him, and spare not; look, what I have said⁴ I will avouch in presence of the king:

I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower.⁵

'Tis time to speak, my pains⁶ are quite forgot.

Q. MAR. Out, devil!⁷ I remember them too well: Thou kill'dst my husband Henry in the Tower, And Edward, my poor son, at Tewksbury.

GLO. Ere you were queen, ay, or your husband king,

I was a pack-horse in his great affairs;

A weeder-out of his proud adversaries,

A liberal rewarder of his friends;

To royalize⁸ his blood, I spilt mine own.

⁴ *Tell him, and spare not; look, what I have said —*] This verse I have restored from the old quartos. THEOBALD.

Here we have another proof of a line being passed over by the transcriber, or the compositor at the press, when the first folio was printed, for the subsequent line is not sense without this. MALONE.

⁵ *I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower.*] Perhaps our author elliptically omitted the first—*to* in this line. So, in p. 295:

“To help thee curse” &c. i. e. to curse.

See also p. 277, line five, and p. 282, line the first. STEEVENS.

⁶ — *my pains* —] My labours; my toils. JOHNSON.

⁷ *Out, devil!*] Mr. Lambé observes in his notes on the ancient metrical history of *The Battle of Flodden Field*, that *out* is an interjection of abhorrence or contempt, most frequent in the mouths of the common people of the north. It occurs again in Act IV:

“— *out* on ye, owls!” STEEVENS.

⁸ — *royalize* —] i. e. to make royal. So, in *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, 1607:

“Who means to-morrow for to *royalize*

“The triumphs” &c. STEEVENS.

Q. MAR. Ay, and much better blood than his,
or thine.

GLO. In all which time, you, and your husband
Grey,

Were factious for the house of Lancaster;—

And, Rivers, so were you:—Was not your husband
In Margaret's battle⁹ at saint Albans slain?

Let me put in your minds, if you forget,
What you have been ere now, and what you are;
Withal, what I have been, and what I am.

P. MAR. A murd'rous villain, and so still thou
art.

GLO. Poor Clarence did forsake his father War-
wick,

Ay, and forswore himself,—Which Jesu pardon!—

Q. MAR. Which God revenge!

GLO. To fight on Edward's party, for the crown;
And, for his meed, poor lord, he is mew'd up:
I would to God, my heart were flint. like Edward's,
Or Edward's soft and pitiful, like mine;
I am too childish-foolish for this world.

Q. MAR. Hie thee to hell for shame, and leave
this world,

Thou cacodæmon! there thy kingdom is.

RIV. My lord of Gloster, in those busy days,
Which here you urge, to prove us enemies,

⁹ ——— *Was not your husband,*

In Margaret's battle &c.] It is said in *Henry VI.* that he died
in quarrel of the house of York. JOHNSON.

The account here given is the true one. See this inconsistency
accounted for in p. 100, and in the *Dissertation* at the end of the
Third Part of *King Henry VI.* p. 236. MALONE.

Margaret's battle is—Margaret's army. RITSON.

So, in *King Henry IV.* P. I:

“What may the king's whole battle reach unto?” STEEVENS.

We follow'd then our lord, our lawful king;²
So should we you, if you should be our king.

GLO. If I should be?—I had rather be a pedlar:
Far be it from my heart the thought thereof!

Q. ELIZ. As little joy, my lord, as you suppose
You should enjoy, were you this country's king;
As little joy you may suppose in me,
That I enjoy, being the queen thereof.

Q. MAR. A little joy enjoys the queen thereof;
For I am she, and altogether joyless.
I can no longer hold me patient.— [*Advancing.*
Hear me, you wrangling pirates,³ that fall out
In sharing that which you have pill'd from me?
Which of you trembles not, that looks on me?

² ——— *our lawful king*;] So the quarto 1598, and the subsequent quartos. The folio has—*sovereign king*.

In this play the variations between the original copy in quarto, and the folio, are more numerous than, I believe, in any other of our author's pieces. The alterations, it is highly probable, were made, not by Shakspeare, but by the players, many of them being very injudicious. The text has been formed out of the two copies, the folio, and the early quarto; from which the preceding editors have in every scene selected such readings as appeared to them fit to be adopted. To enumerate every variation between the copies would encumber the page with little use. MALONE.

³ *Hear me, you wrangling pirates, &c.*] This scene of Margaret's imprecation is fine and artful. She prepares the audience, like another Cassandra, for the following tragic revolutions.

WARBURTON.

Surely, the merits of this scene are insufficient to excuse its improbability. Margaret, bullying the court of England in the royal palace, is a circumstance as absurd as the courtship of Gloster in a publick street. STEEVENS.

⁴ ——— *which you have pill'd from me*:] To *pill* is to pillage. So, in *The Martyr'd Soldier*, by Shirley, 1638:

“He has not *pill'd* the rich, nor flay'd the poor.”

STEEVENS.

To *pill*, is literally, to take off the outside or rind. Thus they say in Devonshire, to *pill* an apple, rather than *pare* it; and Shirley uses the word precisely in this sense. HENLEY.

If not, that, I being queen, you bow like subjects;
Yet that, by you depos'd, you quake like rebels? —
Ah, gentle villain,⁵ do not turn away!

GLO. Foul wrinkled witch, what mak'st thou in
my sight?⁶

Q. MAR. But repetition of what thou hast marr'd;
That will I make, before I let thee go.

GLO. Wert thou not banished, on pain of death?⁷

Q. MAR. I was; but I do find more pain in banishment,

Than death can yield me here by my abode.
A husband, and a son, thou ow'st to me, —

⁵ *Ah, gentle villain,*] We should read:
—— *ungentle villain,* —— WARBURTON.

The meaning of *gentle* is not, as the commentator imagines, *tender* or *courteous*, but *high-born*. An opposition is meant between that and *villain*, which means at once a *wicked* and a *low-born* wretch. So before:

*Since ev'ry Jack is made a gentleman,
There's many a gentle person made a Jack.* JOHNSON.

Gentle appears to me to be taken in its common acceptation, but to be used ironically. M. MASON.

⁶ —— *what mak'st thou in my sight?*] An obsolete expression for —— *what dost thou in my sight*. So, in *Othello*:

“Ancient, what makes he here?”

Margaret in her answer takes the word in its ordinary acceptation. MALONE.

So does Orlando, in *As you like it*:

“Now, fir, what make you here? —

“Nothing: I am not taught to make any thing.” STEEVENS.

⁷ *Wert thou not banished, on pain of death?*] Margaret fled into France after the battle of Hexham in 1464, and Edward soon afterwards issued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his subjects from aiding her to return, or harbouring her, should she attempt to revisit England. She remained abroad till the 14th of April 1471, when she landed at Weymouth. After the battle of Tewksbury, in May 1471, she was confined in the Tower, where she continued a prisoner till 1475, when she was ransomed by her father Reignier, and removed to France, where she died in 1482. The present scene is in 1477-8. MALONE.

And thou, a kingdom; — all of you, allegiance :
This sorrow that I have, by right is yours ;
And all the pleasures you usurp, are mine.

GLO. The curse my noble father laid on thee, —
When thou didst crown his warlike brows with
paper,

And with thy scorns drew'st rivers from his eyes ;
And then, to try them, gav'st the duke a clout,
Steep'd in the faultless blood of pretty Rutland ; —
His curses, then from bitterness of soul
Denounc'd against thee, are all fallen upon thee ;
And God, not we, hath plagu'd thy bloody deed.⁷

Q. ELIZ. So just is God, to right the innocent.⁸

HAST. O, 'twas the foulest deed, to slay that babe,
And the most merciless, that e'er was heard of.

RIV. Tyrants themselves wept when it was re-
ported.

DOR. No man but prophecy'd revenge for it.

BUCK. Northumberland, then present, wept to
see it.⁹

Q. MAR. What! were you snarling all, before I
came,

Ready to catch each other by the throat,
And turn you all your hatred now on me ?
Did York's dread curse prevail so much with heaven,

⁷ — *hath plagu'd thy bloody deed.*] So, in *King John*:

“ That he's not only *plagued* for her sin.”

To *plague*, in ancient language, is to *punish*. Hence the scrip-
tural term — “ the *plagues* of Egypt.” STEEVENS.

⁸ *So just is God, to right the innocent.*] So, in *Thomas Lord Crom-
well*, 1602:

“ How just is God, to right the innocent !” RITSON.

⁹ *Northumberland, then present, wept to see it.*] Alluding to a
scene in *King Henry VI.* P. III:

“ What, weeping ripe, my lord Northumberland ?”

STEEVENS.

That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death,
 Their kingdom's loss, my woful banishment,
 Could all but answer for that peevish brat?
 Can curses pierce the clouds, and enter heaven? —
 Why, then give way, dull clouds, to my quick
 curses! —

Though not by war, by surfeit die your king,^a
 As ours by murder, to make him a king!
 Edward, thy son, that now is prince of Wales,
 For Edward my son, that was prince of Wales,
 Die in his youth, by like untimely violence!
 Thyself a queen, for me that was a queen,
 Out-live thy glory, like my wretched self!
 Long may'st thou live, to wail thy children's loss;
 And see another, as I see thee now,
 Deck'd in thy rights, as thou art stall'd in mine!
 Long die thy happy days before thy death;
 And, after many lengthen'd hours of grief,
 Die neither mother, wife, nor England's queen! —
 Rivers, — and Dorset, — you were standers-by, —
 And so wast thou, lord Hastings, — when my son
 Was stabb'd with bloody daggers; God, I pray
 him,

That none of you may live your natural age,
 But by some unlook'd accident cut off!

GLO. Have done thy charm, thou hateful wither'd
 hag.

Q. MAR. And leave out thee? stay, dog, for thou
 shalt hear me.

If heaven have any grievous plague in store,
 Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee,
 O, let them keep it, till thy sins be ripe,

^a — by *surfeit die your king*,] Alluding to his luxurious life.
 JOHNSON.

And then hurl down their indignation
 On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace!
 The worm of conscience still be-gnaw thy soul!
 Thy friends suspect for traitors while thou liv'st,
 And take deep traitors for thy dearest friends!
 No sleep close up that deadly eye of thine,
 Unless it be while some tormenting dream
 Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils!
 Thou elvish-mark'd,⁴ abortive, rooting hog!⁵

⁴ — *elvish-mark'd*,] The common people in Scotland (as I learn from Kelly's *Proverbs*) have still an aversion to those who have any natural defect or redundancy, as thinking them *mark'd* out for mischief. STEEVENS.

⁵ — *rooting hog*!] The expression is fine, alluding (in memory of her young son) to the ravage which hogs make, with the finest flowers, in gardens; and intimating that Elizabeth was to expect no other treatment for her sons. WARBURTON.

She calls him *hog*, as an appellation more contemptuous than *boar*, as he is elsewhere termed from his ensigns armorial.

JOHNSON.

In *The Mirror for Magistrates* is the following *Complaint of Collingbourne*, who was cruelly executed for making a rime:

*For where I meant the king by name of hog,
 I only alluded to his badge the bore:
 To Lovel's name I added more, — our dog;
 Because most dogs have borne that name of yore,
 These metaphors I us'd with other more,
 As cat and rat, the half-names of the rest,
 To hide the sense that they so wrongly wrest.*

That *Lovel* was once the common name of a dog, may be likewise known from a passage in *The Historie of Jacob and Esau*, an interlude, 1568:

“Then come on at once, take my quiver and my bowes;
 “Fette lovell my hounde, and my horne to blowe.”

The rhyme for which Collingbourne suffered, was:

“A cat, a rat, and Lovel the dog,
 “Rule all England under a hog.” STEEVENS.

The rhyme of Collingbourne is thus preserved in Heywood's *History of Edward IV.* P. II:

“The cat, the rat, and Lovell our dog,
 “Doe rule all England under a hog.”

Thou that wast seal'd in thy nativity
 The slave of nature,⁶ and the son of hell!
 Thou slander of thy mother's heavy womb!

"The crooke backt bore the way hath found
 "To root our roses from our ground.
 "Both flower and bud will be confound,
 "Till king of beasts the swine be crown'd:
 "And then the dog, the cat, and rat,
 "Shall in his trough feed and be fat."

The propriety of Dr. Warburton's note, notwithstanding what Dr. Johnson hath subjoined, is fully confirmed by this satire.

HENLEY.

The persons levelled at by this rhyme were the king, Catesby, Ratcliff, and Lovel, as appears in *The Complaint of Collingbourne*:

"Catesbye was one whom I called a cat,
 "A craftie lawyer catching all he could;
 "The second Ratcliffe, whom I named a rat,
 "A cruel beast to gnaw on whom he should:
 "Lord Lovel barkt and byt whom Richard would,
 "Whom I therefore did rightly terme our dog,
 "Wherewith to ryme I cald the king a hog." MALONE.

⁶ *The slave of nature,*] The expression is strong and noble, and alludes to the ancient custom of masters branding their profligate slaves; by which it is insinuated that his mishapen person was the mark that nature had set upon him to stigmatize his ill conditions. Shakspeare expresses the same thought in *The Comedy of Errors*:

"He is deformed, crooked, &c.
 "Stigmatical in making ——"

But as the speaker rises in her resentment, she expresses this contemptuous thought much more openly, and condemns him to a still worse state of slavery:

"Sin, death, and hell, have set their marks on him."

Only, in the first line, her mention of his moral condition insinuates her reflections on his deformity: and, in the last, her mention of his deformity insinuates her reflections on his moral condition: And thus he has taught her to scold in all the elegance of figure. WARBURTON.

Part of Dr. Warburton's note is confirm'd by a line in our author's *Rape of Lucrece* from which it appears he was acquainted with the practice of marking slaves:

"Worse than a slavish wipe, or birth-hour's blot."

MALONE.

Thou loathed issue of thy father's loins!
Thou rag of honour!⁷ thou detested —

GLO. Margaret.

Q. MAR. Richard!

GLO. Ha?

Q. MAR. I call thee not.

GLO. I cry thee mercy then; for I did think,
That thou had'st call'd me all these bitter names.

Q. MAR. Why, so I did; but look'd for no reply.
O, let me make the period to my curse.

GLO. 'Tis done by me; and ends in — Margaret.

Q. ELIZ. Thus have you breath'd your curse
against yourself.

Q. MAR. Poor painted queen, vain flourish of
my fortune!⁸

Why strew'st thou sugar on that bottled spider,⁹

⁷ *Thou rag of honour! &c.*] This word of contempt is used again
in *Timon*;

“ If thou wilt curse, thy father, that poor rag,

“ Must be the subject. ”

Again, in this play :

“ These over-weening rags of France. ” STEEVENS.

⁸ — *flourish of my fortune!*] This expression is likewise used
by Massinger in *The Great Duke of Florence* :

“ — I allow these

“ As flourishings of fortune. ” STEEVENS.

⁹ — *bottled spider,*] A spider is called bottled, because, like
other insects, he has a middle slender and a belly protuberant.
Richard's form and venom, make her liken him to a spider.

JOHNSON.

A critick, who styles himself “ Robert Heron, *Esquire* ” (though
his title to *Esquireship* is but ill supported by his language, “ puppy,
booby, wise-acre, ” &c. &c. being the usual distinctions he bestows
on authors who are not his favourites,) very gravely assures us that
“ a bottled spider is evidently a spider kept in a bottle long fasting,
and of consequence the more spiteful and venomous. ” — May one
ask if the infuriation of our *Esquire* originates from a similar cause?

Whose deadly web ensnareth thee about?
 Fool, fool! thou whet'st a knife to kill thyself.
 The day will come, that thou shalt wish for me
 To help thee curse this pois'nous bunch-back'd
 toad.

HAST. False-boding woman, end thy frantick
 curse;

Left, to thy harm, thou move our patience.

Q. MAR. Foul shame upon you! you have all
 mov'd mine.

RIV. Were you well serv'd, you would be taught
 your duty.

Q. MAR. To serve me well, you all should do
 me duty,

Teach me to be your queen, and you my subjects:
 O, serve me well, and teach yourselves that duty.

Hath he newly escaped, like Asmodeo, from the phial of some Highland forcerer, under whose discipline he had experienced the provocations of lenten imprisonment? — Mrs. Raffald differs on *bottled gooseberries*, and George Falkener warns us against *bottled children*; but it was reserved for our *Esquire* (every one knows who our *Esquire* is) to discover that spiders, like ale, grow brisker from being *bottled*, and derive additional venom from being starved. — It would be the interest of every writer to wish for an opponent like the *Esquire Heron*, did not the general credit of letters oppose the production of such another critick. — So far I am from wishing the lucubrations of our *Esquire* to be forgotten, that I counsel thee, gentle reader (and especially, provided thou art a hypochondriac,) to peruse, and (if thou canst) to re-peruse them, and finally to thank me as thy purveyor of a laugh. — Every man should court a fresh onset from an adversary, who, in the act of ridiculing others, exposes himself to yet more obvious ridicule. STEEVENS.

A *bottled spider* is a large, bloated, glossy spider; supposed to contain venom proportionate to its size. The expression occurs again in A& IV:

“ That *bottled spider*, that foul hunch-back'd toad.”

RITSON.

DOR. Dispute not with her, she is lunatick.

Q. MAR. Peace — after marquis, you are malapert:

Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current:²

O, that your young nobility could judge,

What 'twere to lose it, and be miserable!

They that stand high, have many blasts to shake them;

And, if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces.

GLO. Good counsel, marry; — learn it, learn it, marquis.

DOR. It touches you, my lord, as much as me.

GLO. Ay, and much more: But I was born so high,

Our aiery buildeth in the cedar's top.

And dallies with the wind, and scorns the sun.

Q. MAR. And turns the sun to shade; — alas! —
alas! —

Witness my son, now in the shade of death;³

Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy wrath
Hath in eternal darkness folded up.

Your aiery buildeth in our aiery's nest:⁴ —

² *Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current:*] Thomas Grey was created Marquis of Dorset, A. D. 1476. PERCY.

The present scene, as has been already observed, is in 1477-8. MALONE.

³ *Witness my son, &c.*] Her distress cannot prevent her quibbling. It may be here remarked, that the introduction of Margaret in this place, is against all historical evidence. She was ransomed and sent to France soon after Tewksbury fight, and there passed the remainder of her wretched life. RITSON.

Witness my son,] Thus the quarto of 1598, and the folio. The modern editors, after the quarto of 1612, read — *sun*. MALONE.

⁴ *Your aiery buildeth in our aiery's nest:*] An *aiery* is a hawk's or an eagle's nest. So, in Greene's *Card of Fancy*, 1608:

“ It is a subtle bird that breeds among the *aiery* of hawks.”

O God, that see'st it, do not suffer it;
As it was won with blood, lost be it so!

BUCK. Peace, peace, for shame, if not for charity.

Q. MAR. Urge neither charity nor shame to me;
Uncharitably with me have you dealt,
And shamefully by you my hopes are butcher'd.
My charity is outrage, life my shame, —
And in my shame still live my sorrow's rage!

BUCK. Have done, have done.

Q. MAR. O princely Buckingham, I kiss thy
hand.

In sign of league and amity with thee:
Now fair befall thee, and thy noble house!
Thy garments are not spotted with our blood,
Nor thou within the compass of my curse.

BUCK. Nor no one here; for curses never pass
The lips of those that breathe them in the air.

Q. MAR. I'll not believe but they ascend the
sky,

And there awake God's gentle-sleeping peace.

O Buckingham, beware of yonder dog;
Look, when he fawns, he bites; and, when he
bites,

His venom tooth will rankle to the death:
Have not to do with him, beware of him;
Sin, death, and hell,⁵ have set their marks on him:
And all their ministers attend on him.

Again, in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1630:

" His high-built *aiery* shall be drown'd in blood. "

Again, in Massinger's *Maid of Honour*:

" One *aiery*, with proportion, ne'er discloses

" The eagle and the wren. " STEEVENS.

⁵ Sin, death, and hell,] Possibly Milton took from hence the hint
of his famous allegory. BLAKSTONE.

GLO. What doth she say, my lord of Buckingham?

BUCK. Nothing that I respect, my gracious lord.

Q. MAR. What, dost thou scorn me for my gentle counsel?

And sooth the devil that I warn thee from?

O, but remember this another day,

When he shall split thy very heart with sorrow;

And say, poor Margaret was a prophetess. —

Live each of you the subjects to his hate,

And he to yours, and all of you to God's! ⁶ [*Exit.*

HAST. My hair doth stand on end to hear her curses.

RIV. And so doth mine; I muse, why she's at liberty. ⁷

GLO. I cannot blame her, by God's holy mother;
She hath had too much wrong, and I repent
My part thereof, that I have done to her.

Q. ELIZ. I never did her any, to my knowledge.

GLO. Yet you have all the vantage of her wrong.

Milton might as probably catch the hint from the following passage in *Latimer's Sermons*, 1584, fol. 79. "Here came in death and hell, sinne was their mother. Therefore they must have such animage as their mother sinne would geue them." HOLT WHITE.

⁶ *Live each of you the subjects to his hate,*

And he to yours, and all of you to God's!] It is evident from the conduct of Shakspeare, that the house of Tudor retained all their Lancastrian prejudices, even in the reign of queen Elizabeth. In his play of *Richard the Third*, he seems to deduce the woes of the house of York from the curses which queen Margaret had vented against them; and he could not give that weight to her curses, without supposing a right in her to utter them. WALPOLE.

⁷ — *I muse, why she's at liberty.*] Thus the folio. The quarto reads:

—— *I wonder she's at liberty.* STEEVENS.

I was too hot to do some body good,
That is too cold in thinking of it now.
Marry, as for Clarence, he is well repay'd;
He is frank'd up to fatting for his pains;⁸ —
God pardon them that are the cause thereof!

RIV. A virtuous and a christian-like conclusion,
To pray for them that have done scath to us.⁹

GLO. So do I ever, being well advis'd; —
For had I curs'd now, I had curs'd myself. [*Aside.*]

⁸ *He is frank'd up to fatting for his pains;*] A *frank* is an old English word for a *hog-stye*. 'Tis possible he uses this metaphor to Clarence, in allusion to the crest of the family of York, which was a *boar*. Whereto relate those famous old verses on Richard III:

*The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
Rule all England under a hog.*

He uses the same metaphor in the last scene of act IV. POPE.

A *frank* was not a common *hog-stye*, but the pen in which those hogs were confined of whom *brawn* was to be made. STEEVENS.

From the manner in which the word is used in *King Henry IV.* a *frank* should seem to mean a pen in which *any* hog is *fatted*. "Does the old boar feed in the old *frank*?" So also, as Mr. Bowle observes to me, in Holinshed's *Description of Britaine*, B. III. p. 1096. "The husbandmen and farmers never *fraunke* them above three or four months, in which time he is dyeted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planches of an uneasy coate."

"He feeds like a boar in a *frank*," as the same gentleman observes, is one of Ray's proverbial sentences. MALONE.

Mr. Bowle's chief instance will sufficiently countenance my assertion: for what hogs, except those designed for *brawn*, are ever purposely lodged "on the bare planches of an uneasy cote?"

STEEVENS.

⁹ — *done scath to us.*] *Scath* is harm, mischief.
So, in *Soliman and Perseda*:

"Whom now that paltry island keeps from *scath*."

Again:

"Millions of men oppress'd with ruin and *scath*."

STEEVENS.

Enter CATESBY.

CATES. Madam, his majesty doth call for you,—
And for your grace, — and you, my noble lords.

Q. ELIZ. Catesby, I come:—Lords, will you go
with me?

RIV. Madam, we will attend upon your grace.
[*Exeunt all but GLOSTER.*

GLO. I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
The secret mischiefs that I set abroad,
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
Clarence,—whom I, indeed, have laid in darkness,—
I do beweepe to many simple gulls;
Namely, to Stanley, Hastings, Buckingham;
And tell them — 'tis the queen and her allies,
That stir the king against the duke my brother.
Now they believe it; and withal whet me
To be reveng'd on Rivers, Vaughan, Grey:
But then I sigh, and, with a piece of scripture,
Tell them — that God bids us do good for evil:
And thus I clothe my naked villainy
With old odd ends, stol'n forth of holy writ;
And seem a faint, when most I play the devil.

Enter two Murderers.

But soft, here come my executioners. —
How now, my hardy, stout, resolved mates?
Are you now going to despatch this thing?^a

^a ——— to despatch this thing?] Seagars in his *Legend of Richard the Third*, speaking of the murder of Gloster's nephews, makes him say,

“What though he refused, yet be sure you may,

“That other were as ready to take in hand *that thing*.”

The coincidence was, I believe, merely accidental. MALONE.

1. MURD. We are, my lord; and come to have
the warrant.

That we may be admitted where he is.

GLO. Well thought upon, I have it here about
me: [*Gives the warrant.*

When you have done, repair to Crosby-place.

But, sirs, be sudden in the execution,

Withal obdurate, do not hear him plead;

For Clarence is well spoken, and, perhaps,

May move your hearts to pity, if you mark him.

1. MURD. Tut, tut, my lord, we will not stand
to prate,

Talkers are no good doers; be assur'd,

We go to use our hands, and not our tongues.

GLO. Your eyes drop millstones, when fools'
eyes drop tears :³

I like you, lads;—about your business straight;

Go, go, despatch.

1. MURD. We will, my noble lord. [*Exeunt.*

³ *Your eyes drop millstones, when fool's eyes drop tears:] This, I believe, is a proverbial expression. It is used again in the tragedy of Caesar and Pompey, 1607:*

"Men's eyes must mill-stones drop, when fools shed tears."
STEEVENS.

SCENE IV.

The same. A Room in the Tower.

Enter CLARENCE and BRAKENBURY.

BRAK. Why looks your grace so heavily to-day?

CLAR. O, I have pass'd a miserable night,
So full of fearful dreams, of ugly sights,⁴
That, as I am a christian faithful man,⁵
I would not spend another such a night,
Though 'twere to buy a world of happy days;
So full of dismal terror was the time.

BRAK. What was your dream, my lord? I pray
you, tell me.

CLAR. Methought, that I had broken from the
Tower,
And was embark'd to cross to Burgundy;⁶

⁴ *So full of fearful dreams, of ugly sights,]* Thus the folio. The quarto, 1598:

So full of ugly sights, of ghastly dreams. MALONE.

⁵ *—— faithful,]* Not an infidel. JOHNSON.

⁶ *—— to Burgundy;* Clarence was desirous to assist his sister Margaret against the French king, who invaded her jointure-lands after the death of her husband, Charles duke of Burgundy, who was killed at the siege of Nancy, in January 1476-7. Isabel the wife of Clarence being then dead, (taken off by poison, administered by the duke of Gloster, as it has been conjectured,) he wished to have married Mary the daughter and heir of the duke of Burgundy; but the match was opposed by Edward, who hoped to have obtained her for his brother-in-law, Lord Rivers; and this circumstance has been suggested as the principal cause of the breach between Edward and Clarence. Mary of Burgundy however chose a husband for herself, having married in August 1477 Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick. MALONE.

And, in my company, my brother Gloster:
 Who from my cabin tempted me to walk
 Upon the hatches; thence we look'd toward Eng-
 land,

And cited up a thousand heavy times,
 During the wars of York and Lancaster
 That had befall'n us. As we pac'd along
 Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,
 Methought, that Gloster stumbled; and, in falling,
 Struck me, that thought to stay him, over-board,
 Into the tumbling billows of the main.

O Lord! methought, what pain it was to drown!
 What dreadful noise of water in mine ears! ⁷

What sights of ugly death ⁸ within mine eyes!

Methought, I saw a thousand fearful wrecks;

A thousand men, that fishes gnaw'd upon;

Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,

Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels, ⁹

All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea.

Some lay in dead men's skulls; and, in those holes

Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept

(As 'twere in scorn of eyes,) reflecting gems,

That woo'd the slimy bottom ² of the deep,

And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by.

BRAK. Had you such leisure in the time of death,

⁷ *What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!*] See Mr. Warton's note on Milton's *Lycidas*, v. 157. Milton's *Poems*, second edit. 1791. STEEVENS.

⁸ *What sights of ugly death——*] Thus the folio. The quarto has — What ugly sights of death. MALONE.

⁹ *Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,*] *Unvalued* is here used for *invaluable*. So, in Lovelace's *Posthumous Poems*, 1659:

“ — the unvalued robe she wore,

“ Made infinite lay lovers to adore.” MALONE.

² *That woo'd the slimy bottom ——*] By seeming to gaze upon it; or, as we now say, to ogle it. JOHNSON.

To gaze upon these secrets of the deep?

CLAR. Methought, I had; and often did I strive
To yield the ghost: but still the envious flood
Kept in my soul,² and would not let it forth
To seek the empty, vast, and wand'ring air;³
But smother'd it within my panting bulk,⁴
Which almost burst to belch it in the sea.

BRAK. Awak'd you not with this fore agony?

CLAR. O, no, my dream was lengthen'd after
life;

O, then began the tempest to my soul!
I pass'd, methought, the melancholy flood,
With that grim ferryman⁵ which poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.
The first that there did greet my stranger soul,
Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick;
Who cry'd aloud, — *What scourge for perjury
Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?*
And so he vanish'd: Then came wand'ring by
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair

² Kept in my soul,] Thus the quarto. The folio—*Stopt in*.

MALONE.

³ *To seek the empty, vast, and wand'ring air;*] Perhaps we should point thus:

To seek the empty vast, and wand'ring air.
that is, to seek the immense vacuity. *Vast* is used by our author as a substantive in other places. See Vol. X. p. 8, n. 4.

Seek is the reading of the quarto, 1598; the folio has *find*.

MALONE.

—— *empty, vast, and wand'ring air;*] *Vast*, is *waste, desolate*—*vastum per inane*. STEEVENS.

⁴ —— *within my panting bulk,*] *Bulk* is often used by Shakspeare and his contemporaries for *body*. So again, in *Hamlet*:

“ —— it did seem to shatter all his *bulk*,

“ And end his being.” MALONE.

⁵ —— *grim ferryman* ——] The folio reads—*four ferryman*.

STEEVENS

Dabbled in blood; ⁶ and he shriek'd out aloud,—
Clarence is come,—false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence, ⁷—
That stabb'd me in the field by Tewksbury;—
Seize on him, furies, take him to your torments!—
 With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends
 Environ'd me, ⁸ and howled in mine ears
 Such hideous cries, that, with the very noise,
 I trembling wak'd, and, for a season after,
 Could not believe but that I was in hell;
 Such terrible impression made my dream.

BRAK. No marvel, lord, though it affrighted
 you;

I am afraid, methinks, to hear you tell it.

CLAR. O, Brakenbury, I have done these things,—
 That now give evidence against my soul,—

⁶ ——— with bright hair

Dabbled in blood;] Lee has transplanted this image into his
Mithridates, Act IV. sc. i:

“ I slept; but oh, a dream so full of terror,
 “ The pale, the trembling midnight ravisher
 “ Ne'er saw, when cold Lucretia's mourning shadow
 “ His curtains drew, and lash'd him in his eyes
 “ With her bright tresses, dabbled in her blood.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ ——— fleeting, *perjur'd Clarence,*] *Fleeting* is the same as
changing sides. JOHNSON.

So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

“ ——— now the *fleeting* moon
 “ No planet is of mine.”

Clarence broke his oath with the earl of Warwick, and joined
 the army of his brother king Edward IV. See p. 168. STEEVENS.

⁸ ——— a legion of foul fiends

Environ'd me, &c.] Milton seems to have thought on this
 passage where he is describing the midnight sufferings of *Our Saviour*,
 in the 4th book of *Paradise Regain'd*:

“ ——— nor yet stay'd the terror there,
 “ Infernal ghosts, and hellish furies, round
 “ Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some shriek'd—.”

STEEVENS.

For Edward's sake; and, see, how he requites me!—
 O God! if my deep prayers cannot appease thee,⁹
 But thou wilt be aveng'd on my misdeeds,
 Yet execute thy wrath on me alone:
 O, spare my guiltless wife,² and my poor children!—
 I pray thee, gentle keeper, stay by me;³
 My soul is heavy, and I fain would sleep.

BRAK. I will, my lord; God give your grace
 good rest!—

[Clarence *reposes himself on a chair.*
 Sorrow breaks seasons,⁴ and reposing hours,
 Makes the night morning, and the noon-tide night.
 Princes have but their titles for their glories,
 An outward honour for an inward toil;⁵

⁹ *O God! if my deep prayers &c.*] The four following lines have been added since the first edition. POPE.

They are found in the folio, but not in the quarto. MALONE.

² — *my guiltless wife,*] The wife of Clarence died before he was apprehended and confined in the Tower. See p. 302, n. 6.

MALONE.

³ *I pray thee, gentle keeper, &c.*] So the quarto, 1598. The folio reads:

Keeper, I pr'ythee, sit by me a while. MALONE.

⁴ *Sorrow breaks seasons, &c.*] In the common editions, the keeper is made to hold the dialogue with Clarence till this line. And here Brakenbury enters, pronouncing these words; which seem to me a reflection naturally resulting from the foregoing conversation, and therefore continued to be spoken by the same person, as it is accordingly in the first edition. POPE.

The keeper introduced in the quarto 1598, was, in fact, Brakenbury, who was lieutenant of the Tower. There can be no doubt therefore that the text, which is regulated according to the quarto, is right. MALONE.

⁵ *Princes have but their titles for their glories,*

An outward honour for an inward toil;] The first line may be understood in this sense, *The glories of princes are nothing more than empty titles:* but it would more impress the purpose of the speaker, and correspond better with the following lines, if it were read:

Princes have but their titles for their troubles. JOHNSON.

And, for unfelt imaginations,
 They often feel a world of restless cares:⁶
 So that, between their titles, and low name,
 There's nothing differs but the outward fame.

Enter the two Murderers.

1. MURD. Ho! who's here?

BRAK. What would'st thou, fellow? and how
 cam'st thou hither?

1. MURD. I would speak with Clarence, and I
 came hither on my legs.

BRAK. What, so brief?

2. MURD. O, fir, 'tis better to be brief, than
 tedious:—

Let him see our commission; talk no more.⁷

[*A paper is delivered to Brakenbury, who reads it.*]

BRAK. I am, in this, commanded to deliver
 The noble duke of Clarence to your hands:—

I will not reason what is meant hereby,
 Because I will be guiltless of the meaning.

Here are the keys;⁸—there sits the duke asleep:

I'll to the king; and signify to him,

That thus I have resign'd to you my charge.

1. MURD. You may, fir; 'tis a point of wisdom:
 Fare you well. [Exit Brakenbury.]

⁶ — for unfelt imaginations,

They often feel a world of restless cares:] They often suffer real miseries for imaginary and unreal gratifications. JOHNSON.

⁷ *Let him see our commission; &c.]* Thus the second folio. Other copies, with measure evidently defective—

“ Show him our commission, talk no more ” STEEVENS.

⁸ *Here are the keys; &c.]* So the quarto, 1598. The folio reads:

There lies the duke asleep, and there the keys. MALONE.

2. MURD. What, shall we stab him as he sleeps?

1. MURD. No; he'll say, 'twas done cowardly, when he wakes.

2. MURD. When he wakes! why, fool, he shall never wake until the great judgement day.

1. MURD. Why, then he'll say, we stabb'd him sleeping.

2. MURD. The urging of that word, judgement, hath bred a kind of remorse in me.

1. MURD. What? art thou afraid?

2. MURD. Not to kill him, having a warrant for it; but to be damn'd for killing him, from the which no warrant can defend me.

1. MURD. I thought, thou had'st been resolute.

2. MURD. So I am, to let him live.

1. MURD. I'll back to the duke of Gloster, and tell him so.

2. MURD. Nay, I pr'ythee, stay a little: I hope, this holy humour of mine⁸ will change; it was wont to hold me but while one would tell twenty.

1. MURD. How dost thou feel thyself now?

2. MURD. 'Faith, some certain dregs of conscience are yet within me.

⁸ ——— *this holy humour of mine* —] Thus the early quarto. The folio has—this *passionate* humour of mine, for which the modern editors have substituted *compassionate*, unnecessarily. *Passionate*, though not so good an epithet as that which is furnished by the quarto, is sufficiently intelligible. See Vol. XI. p. 354, n. 9.

The second murderer's next speech proves that *holy* was the author's word. The player editors probably changed it, as they did many others, on account of the Statute, 3 Jac. I. c. 21. A little lower, they, from the same apprehension, omitted the word, '*faith*.'

1. MURD. Remember our reward, when the deed's done.

2. MURD. Come, he dies; I had forgot the reward.

1. MURD. Where's thy conscience now?

2. MURD. In the duke of Gloster's purse.

1. MURD. So, when he opens his purse to give us our reward, thy conscience flies out.

2. MURD. 'Tis no matter; let it go; there's few, or none, will entertain it.

1. MURD. What, if it come to thee again?

2. MURD. I'll not meddle with it, it is a dangerous thing, it makes a man a coward; a man cannot steal, but it accuseth him; a man cannot swear, but it checks him; a man cannot lie with his neighbour's wife, but it detects him: 'Tis a blushing shame-faced spirit, that mutinies in a man's bosom; it fills one full of obstacles: it made me once restore a purse of gold, that by chance I found; it beggars any man that keeps it: it is turn'd out of all towns and cities for a dangerous thing; and every man, that means to live well, endeavours to trust to himself, and live without it.

1. MURD. 'Zounds, it is even now at my elbow, persuading me not to kill the duke.

2. MURD. Take the devil in thy mind, and believe him not: he would insinuate with thee, but to make thee sigh.⁹

⁹ *Take the devil in thy mind, and believe him not: he would insinuate with thee, &c.*] One villain says, *Conscience* is at his elbows, persuading him not to kill the duke. The other says, take the devil into thy nearer acquaintance, *into thy mind*, who will be a match for thy conscience, and believe it not, &c. It is plain then, that *him* in both places in the text should be *it*, namely, conscience.

1. MURD. I am strong-fram'd, ² he cannot prevail with me.

2. MURD. Spoke like a tall fellow, ³ that respects his reputation. Come, shall we fall to work?

1. MURD. Take him over the costard ⁴ with the hilts of thy sword, and then throw him into the malmsey-butt, in the next room.

2. MURD. O excellent device! and make a fop of him.

1. MURD. Soft! he wakes.

2. MURD. Strike.

1. MURD. No, we'll reason ⁵ with him.

CLAR. Where art thou, keeper? give me a cup of wine.

1. MURD. You shall have wine enough, my lord, anon.

CLAR. In God's name, what art thou?

Shakspeare so frequently uses both these pronouns indiscriminately, that no correction is necessary. STEEVENS.

In *The Merchant of Venice* we have a long dialogue between Launcelot, his Conscience, and the Devil. But though conscience were not here personified, Shakspeare would have used *him* instead of *it*. He does so in almost every page of these plays. MALONE.

² *I am strong-fram'd,*] Thus the folio. The quarto reads—*I am strong in fraud.* MALONE.

³ *Spoke like a tall fellow,*] The meaning of *tall*, in old English, is *stout, daring, fearless, and strong.* JOHNSON.

So, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*:

“ — good soldiers, and tall fellows.” STEEVENS.

⁴ — the costard —] i. e. the head; a name adopted from an apple shaped like a man's head. So, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592:

“ One and two rounds at his *costard*.”

Hence likewise the term—*costard-monger*. See Vol. VII. p. 229, n. 8. STEEVENS.

⁵ — we'll reason —] We'll talk. JOHNSON.

So, in *The Merchant of Venice*:

“ I reason'd with a Frenchman yesterday.” STEEVENS.

1. MURD. A man, as you are.

CLAR. But not, as I am, royal.

1. MURD. Nor you, as we are, loyal.

CLAR. Thy voice is thunder, but thy looks are humble.

1. MURD. My voice is now the king's, my looks mine own.

CLAR. How darkly, and how deadly dost thou speak?

Your eyes do menace me: Why look you pale?
Who sent you hither? Wherefore do you come?

BOTH MURD. To, to, to,—

CLAR. To murder me?

BOTH MURD. Ay, ay.

CLAR. You scarcely have the hearts to tell me so,
And therefore cannot have the hearts to do it.
Wherein, my friends, have I offended you?

1. MURD. Offended us you have not, but the king.

CLAR. I shall be reconcil'd to him again.

2. MURD. Never, my lord; therefore prepare to die.

CLAR. Are you call'd forth from out a world of men,⁶

⁶ *Are you call'd forth from out a world of men,*] I think it may be better read:

Are ye cull'd forth— JOHNSON.

The folio reads:

Are you drawn forth among a world of men.

I adhere to the reading now in the text. So, in *Nobody and Somebody*, 1598:

“Art thou *call'd* forth amongst a thousand men

“To minister this soveraigne antidote?” STEEVENS.

The reading of the text is that of the quarto, 1598. MALONE.

To slay the innocent? What is my offence?
 Where is the evidence that doth accuse me?
 What lawful quest⁷ have given their verdict up
 Unto the frowning judge? or who pronounc'd
 The bitter sentence of poor Clarence' death?
 Before I be convict by course of law,⁸
 To threaten me with death, is most unlawful.
 I charge you, as you hope for any goodnes,⁹
 By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins,
 That you depart, and lay no hands on me;
 The deed you undertake is damnable.

1. MURD. What we will do, we do upon command.

2. MURD. And he, that hath commanded, is our king.

CLAR. Erroneous vassal! the great King of kings
 Hath in the table of his law commanded,

⁷ *What lawful quest—*] *Quest is inquest* or jury. JOHNSON.
 So, in *Hamlet*:

“ ——— crowner's *quest* law.” STEEVENS.

⁸ *Before I be convict &c.*] Shakespeare has followed the current tale of his own time, in supposing that Clarence was imprisoned by Edward, and put to death by order of his brother Richard, without trial or condemnation. But the truth is, that he was tried, and found guilty by his Peers, and a bill of attainder was afterwards passed against him. According to Sir Thomas More, his death was *commanded* by Edward; but he does not *assert* that the duke of Gloster was the instrument. Polydore Virgil says, though he talked with several persons who lived at the time, he never could get any certain account of the motives that induced Edward to put his brother to death. See p. 302, n. 6. MALONE.

⁹ ——— *as you hope for any goodnes,*] The quarto reads —

“ As you hope to have redemption.”

I have adopted the former words, for the sake of introducing variety; the idea of *redemption* being comprized in the very next line. STEEVENS.

This arbitrary alteration was made, and the subsequent line was omitted, by the editors of the folio, to avoid the penalty of the Stat. 3 Jac. I. c. 21. MALONE.

That thou shalt do no murder ; Wilt thou then
Spurn at his edict, and fulfil a man's?

Take heed ; for he holds vengeance in his hand,
To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

2. MURD. And that same vengeance doth he hurl
on thee,

For false forswearing, and for murder too :
Thou didst receive the sacrament, to fight
In quarrel of the house of Lancaster.

1. MURD. And, like a traitor to the name of God,
Didst break that vow ; and, with thy treacherous
blade,

Unrip'dst the bowels of thy sovereign's son.

2. MURD. Whom thou wast sworn to cherish and
defend.

1. MURD. How canst thou urge God's dreadful
law to us,

When thou hast broke it in such dear² degree?

CLAR. Alas ! for whose sake did I that ill deed?
For Edward, for my brother, for his sake :
He sends you not to murder me for this ;
For in that sin he is as deep as I.

If God will be avenged for the deed,

O, know you, that he doth it publickly ;³

Take not the quarrel from his powerful arm ;

He needs no indirect nor lawless course,

To cut off those that have offended him.

² ——— dear ———] This is a word of mere enforcement, and very frequently occurs, with different shades of meaning, in our author. So, in *Timon of Athens* :

“ And strain what other means is left unto us,

“ In our dear peril.” STEEVENS.

³ O, know you, that &c.] The old copies — O, know you yet—— but we should read — *that* instead of *yet*. In the MS. copy *that* would naturally have been written *yt*. Hence the mistake, which I have corrected, by the advice of Dr. Farmer. STEEVENS.

1. MURD. Who made thee then a bloody minister,
When gallant-springing, brave Plantagenet,³
That princely novice,⁴ was struck dead by thee?

CLAR. My brother's love, the devil, and my rage.

1. MURD. Thy brother's love, our duty, and thy
fault,
Provoke us hither now to slaughter thee.

CLAR. If you do love my brother, hate not me;
I am his brother, and I love him well.
If you are hir'd for meed,⁵ go back again,
And I will send you to my brother Gloster;
Who shall reward you better for my life,
Than Edward will for tidings of my death.

2. MURD. You are deceiv'd, your brother Glof-
ter hates you.⁶

³ — *springing*, — *Plantagenet*,] Blooming Plantagenet; a prince
in the *spring* of life. JOHNSON.

So, in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, 1579:

“That wouldest me my *springing* youth to spill.”

MALONE.

When gallant, springing,] This should be printed as one word,
I think;—*gallant-springing*. Shakspeare is fond of these compound
epithets, in which the first adjective is to be considered as an adverb.
So, in this play he uses *childish-foolish*, *senseless-obstinate* and *mortal-
flaring*. TYRWHITT.

⁴ — *novice*,] Youth; one yet *new* to the world. JOHNSON.

⁵ *If you are hir'd for meed*,] Thus the quarto 1597 and the folio.
The quarto 1598, reads. *If you be hired for need*; which is like-
wise sense: If it be *necessity* which induces you to commit this mur-
der. MALONE.

⁶ — *your brother Gloster hates you*,] Mr. Walpole some years
ago, suggested, from the Chronicle of Croyland, that the true
cause of Gloster's hatred to Clarence was, that Clarence was un-
willing to share with his brother that moiety of the estate of the
great earl of Warwick, to which Gloster became entitled on his
marriage with the younger sister of the duchess of Clarence, Lady
Anne Neville, who had been betrothed to Edward prince of Wales.
This account of the matter is fully confirmed by a letter, dated
Feb. 14, 1471-2, which has been lately published. *Paston Letters*,
Vol. II. p. 91. “Yesterday the king, the queen, my lords of

CLAR. O, no; he loves me, and he holds me dear :
Go you to him from me.

BOTH MURD. Ay, so we will.

CLAR. Tell him, when that our princely father
York

Bless'd his three sons with his victorious arm,
And charg'd us from his soul to love each other,
He little thought of this divided friendship :
Bid Gloster think on this, and he will weep.

1. MURD. Ay, mill-stones : ' as he lesson'd us to
weep.

CLAR. O, do not slander him, for he is kind.

1. MURD. Right, as snow in harvest.—Come, you
deceive yourself ;

'Tis he that sends us to destroy you here.

CLAR. It cannot be ; for he bewept my fortune,
And hugg'd me in his arms, and swore, with sobs,
That he would labour my delivery.

1. MURD. Why, so he doth, when he delivers you
From this earth's thralldom to the joys of heaven.

2. MURD. Make peace with God, for you must
die, my lord.

CLAR. Hast thou that holy feeling in thy soul,
To counsel me to make my peace with God,
And art thou yet to thy own soul so blind,
That thou wilt war with God by murdering me?—

Clarence and Gloucester, went to Shene to pardon : men say, not
all in charity. The king entreateth my lord of Clarence for my
lord of Gloucester ; and, as it is said, he answereth, that he may
well have my lady his sister-in-law, but *they shall part no livelihood*,
as he saith ; so, what will fall, can I not say," MALONE.

? — he will weep.

1. Murd. Ay, mill-stones ;] So in Massinger's *City Madam* :

" — He, good gentleman,

" Will weep when he hears how we are used.—

" Yes, millstones." STEEVENS.

Ah, firs, confider, he, that fet you on
To do this deed, will hate you for the deed.

2. MURD. What fhall we do?

CLAR. Relent, and fave your fouls.⁸

1. MURD. Relent! 'tis cowardly, and womanifh.

CLAR. Not to relent, is beaftly, favage, devilifh.—

Which of you, if you were a prince's fon,
Being pent from liberty, as I am now,—
If two fuch murderers as yourfelves came to you,—
Would not entreat for life?—

My friend, I fpy fome pity in thy looks;
O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,
Come thou on my fide, and entreat for me,
As you would beg, were you in my diftrefs.
A begging prince what beggar pities not?⁹

⁸ — and fave your fouls. &c.] The fix following lines are not in the old edition. [i. e. the quarto.] POPE.

They are not neceffary, but fo forced in, that something feems omitted to which thefe lines are the answer. JOHNSON.

⁹ — what beggar pities not?] I cannot but fufpect that the lines, which Mr. Pope obferved not to be in the old edition, are now misplaced, and fhould be inserted here, fomewhat after this manner:

Clar. *A begging prince what beggar pities not?*

Vil. *A begging prince!*

Clar. *Which of you, if you, were a prince's fon, &c.*

Upon this provocation, the villain naturally ftrikes him;

JOHNSON.

Mr. Pope's note is not accurately ftated. I believe this paffage fhould be regulated thus.

Clar. Relent and fave your fouls.

1 Vil. Relent! 'tis cowardly and womanifh.

Clar. Not to relent is beaftly, favage, devilifh,

Which of you if you were a prince's fon.

Being pent——

If two fuch——

Would not entreat for life?

My friend, I fpy——

O, if thine eye——

2. MURD. Look behind you, my lord.

1. MURD. Take that, and that; if all this will
not do, [Stabs him.
I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within.
[Exit, with the body.

2. MURD. A bloody deed, and desperately de-
spatch'd!
How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands
Of this most grievous guilty murder done!

Re-enter first Murderer.

1. MURD. How now? what mean'st thou, that
thou help'st me not?
By heaven, the duke shall know how slack you have
been.

2. MURD. I would he knew, that I had sav'd his
brother!
Take thou the fee, and tell him what I say;
For I repent me that the duke is slain. [Exit.

1. MURD. So do not I; go, coward, as thou art.—
Well, I'll go hide the body in some hole,
Till that the duke give order for his burial:
And when I have my meed, I will away;
For this will out, and then I must not stay. [Exit.

Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,
As you would beg, were you in my distress.

A begging prince what beggar pities not? TYRWHITT.

I think with Mr. Tyrwhitt that these lines have been inserted in
a wrong place. MALONE.

I have regulated the text according to Mr. Tyrwhitt's instruction.
STEEVENS.

A begging prince what beggar pities not?] To this, in the quarto,
the murderer replies:

I, thus and thus: if this will not serve,
I'll chop thee in the malmsey but in the next roome.
and then stabs him. STEEVENS.

A C T II. S C E N E I.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

Enter King EDWARD, [led in sick,] Queen ELIZABETH, DORSET, RIVERS, HASTINGS, BUCKINGHAM, GREY, and Others.

K. EDW. Why, so:—now have I done a good day's work;—

You peers, continue this united league :
I every day expect an embassage
From my Redeemer to redeem me hence ;
And more in peace² my soul shall part to heaven,
Since I have made my friends at peace on earth.
Rivers, and Hastings, take each other's hand ;
Dissemble not your hatred,³ swear your love.

RIV. By heaven, my soul is purg'd from grudg-
ing hate ;

And with my hand I seal my true heart's love.

HAST. So thrive I, as I truly swear the like !

K. EDW. Take heed, you daily not before your
king ;

Left he, that is the supreme King of kings.
Confound your hidden falsehood, and award

² *And more in peace—*] The folio—*more to peace*. The quarto—*And now in peace*.— STEEVENS.

³ *Dissemble not your hatred,*] i. e. do not gloss it over.

STEEVENS.

I suppose he means, Divest yourselves of that concealed hatred which you have heretofore secretly borne to each other. Do not merely, says Edward, conceal and cover over your secret ill will to each other by a show of love, but eradicate hatred altogether from your bosoms. MALONE.

Either of you to be the other's end.

HAST. So prosper I, as I swear perfect love!

RIV. And I, as I love Hastings with my heart!

K. EDW. Madam, yourself are not exempt in this, —

Nor your son Dorset, — Buckingham, nor you; —

You have been factious one against the other.

Wife, love lord Hastings, let him kiss your hand;

And what you do, do it unfeignedly.

Q. ELIZ. There, Hastings; I will never more remember

Our former hatred, So thrive I, and mine!

K. EDW. Dorset, embrace him, — Hastings, love lord marquis.

DOR. This interchange of love, I here protest, Upon my part, shall be inviolable.

HAST. And so swear I. *[embraces Dorset.]*

K. EDW. Now, princely Buckingham, seal thou this league

With thy embracements to my wife's allies,

And make me happy in your unity.

BUCK. Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate Upon your grace, *[to the Queen]* but with all dutious love

Doth cherish you, and yours, God punish me

With hate in those where I expect most love!

When I have most need to employ a friend,

And most assured that he is a friend,

Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,

Be he unto me! this do I beg of heaven,

When I am cold in love, to you, or yours.

(Embracing RIVERS, &c.)

K. EDW. A pleasing cordial, princely Buckingham,

Is this thy vow unto my sickly heart.
 There wanteth now our brother Gloster here,
 To make the blessed period of this peace.

BUCK. And, in good time, here comes the noble
 duke.⁴

Enter GLOSTER.

GLO. Good-morrow to my sovereign king, and
 queen;

And, princely peers, a happy time of day!

K. EDW. Happy, indeed, as we have spent the
 day:—

Brother, we have done deeds of charity;
 Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate,
 Between these swelling wrong-incensed peers.

GLO. A blessed labour, my most sovereign liege.—
 Among this princely heap, if any here,
 By false intelligence, or wrong surmise,
 Hold me a foe;
 If I unwittingly, or in my rage,⁵
 Have aught committed that is hardly borne
 By any in this presence, I desire
 To reconcile me to his friendly peace:
 'Tis death to me, to be at enmity;
 I hate it, and desire all good men's love.—

⁴ ——— *here comes the noble duke.*) So the quarto. The folio
 reads:

And in good time

Here comes Sir Richard Ratcliffe and the duke. MALONE.

⁵ *If I unwittingly, or in my rage,*] So the quarto. Folio—*unwil-*
lingly. This line and the preceding hemistick are printed in the
 old copies, as one line; a mistake that has very frequently hap-
 pened in the early editions of these plays. Mr. Pope, by whose
 licentious alterations our authour's text was much corrupted, omit-
 ted the words—*or in my rage*; in which he has been followed by
 all the subsequent editors. MALONE.

First, madam, I entreat true peace of you,
 Which I will purchase with my duteous service; —
 Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,
 If ever any grudge were lodg'd between us; —
 Of you, lord Rivers, — and lord Grey, of you, —
 That all without desert have frown'd on me; ⁶ —
 Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen; indeed, of all.
 I do not know ⁷ that Englishman alive,
 With whom my soul is any jot at odds,
 More than the infant that is born to-night;
 I thank my God for my humility.

Q. ELIZ. A holyday shall this be kept hereafter: —
 I would to God, all strifes were well compounded. —
 My sovereign lord, I do beseech your highness
 To take our brother Clarence to your grace.

⁶ ——— *frown'd on me;*) I have followed the original copy in quarto. The folio here adds:

Of you, lord Woodville, and lord Scales, of you; —

The eldest son of earl Rivers was lord Scales; but there was no such person as lord Woodville. MALONE.

⁷ *I do not know &c.*] Milton in his ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ, has this observation. "The poets, and some English, have been in this point so mindful of decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person, than of a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the king might be less conversant, but one whom we well know was the closet-companion of these his solitudes, William Shakespeare; who introduced the person of Richard the Third, speaking in as high a strain of piety and mortification as is uttered in any passage in this book, and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this place; *I intended, saith he, not only to oblige my friends, but my enemies.* The like saith Richard, Act. II. sc. i:

"I do not know that Englishman alive

"With whom my soul is any jot at odds,

"More than the infant that is born to-night;

"I thank my God for my humility."

Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the tragedy, wherein the poet used not much licence in departing from the truth of history, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections only, but of religion. " STEEVENS.

GLO. Why, madam, have I offer'd love for this,
To be so flouted in this royal presence?

Who knows not, that the gentle duke is dead?

[*They all start.*]

You do him injury, to scorn his corse.

K. EDW. Who knows not, he is dead! who
knows he is?

Q. ELIZ. All-seeing heaven, what a world is
this!

BUCK. Look I so pale, lord Dorset, as the rest?

DOR. Ay, my good lord; and no man in the pre-
sence,

But his red colour hath forsook his cheeks.

K. EDW. Is Clarence dead? the order was re-
vers'd.

GLO. But he, poor man, by your first order died,
And that a winged Mercury did bear;

Some tardy cripple bore the countermand,⁷

That came too lag to see him buried:—

God grant, that some, less noble, and less loyal,

Nearer in bloody thoughts, and not in blood,⁸

Deserve not worse than wretched Clarence did,

And yet go current from suspicion!

⁷ *Some tardy cripple &c.*] This is an allusion to a proverbial expression which Drayton has versified in the second canto of *The Barons' Wars*:

“Ill news hath wings, and with the wind doth go;

“Comfort's a cripple, and comes ever slow.” STEEVENS.

⁸ *Nearer in bloody thoughts, and not in blood,*] In *Macbeth* we have the same play on words:

“—— the near in blood,

“The nearer bloody.” STEEVENS.

Enter STANLEY.

STAN. A boon, my sovereign, for my service done!

K. EDW. I pr'ythee, peace; my soul is full of sorrow.

STAN. I will not rise, unless your highness hear me.

K. EDW. Then say at once, what is it thou request'st.

STAN. The forfeit,⁹ sovereign, of my servant's life;

Who flew to-day a riotous gentleman,
Lately attendant on the duke of Norfolk.

K. EDW. Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death,²

And shall that tongue give pardon to a slave?
My brother kill'd no man, his fault was thought,
And yet his punishment was bitter death.
Who sued to me for him?³ who, in my wrath,

⁹ *The forfeit,*] He means the remission of the forfeit. JOHNSON.

² *Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death,*] This lamentation is very tender and pathetick. The recollection of the good qualities of the dead is very natural, and no less naturally does the king endeavour to communicate the crime to others. JOHNSON.

³ *Who sued to me for him? &c.*] This pathetick speech is founded on this slight hint in Sir Thomas More's *History of Edward V.* inserted by Holinshed in his *Chronicle*: "Sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death, yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, and repent his sudden execution. Infomuch that when any person sued to him for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accustomablie say, and openly speake, O infortunate brother, for whose life not one would make suite! openly and apparently meaning by suche words that by the means of some of the nobilitie he was deceived, and brought to his confusion." MALONE.

Kneel'd at my feet, and bade me be advis'd ?⁴
 Who spoke of brotherhood ? who spoke of love ?
 Who told me, how the poor soul did forsake
 The mighty Warwick, and did fight for me ?
 Who told me, in the field at Tewksbury,
 When Oxford had me down, he rescu'd me,
 And said, *Dear brother, live, and be a king ?*
 Who told me, when we both lay in the field,
 Frozen almost to death, how he did lap me
 Even in his garments ; and did give himself,
 All thin and naked, to the numb-cold night ?
 All this from my remembrance brutish wrath
 Sinfully pluck'd, and not a man of you
 Had so much grace to put it in my mind.
 But, when your carters, or your waiting-vassals,
 Have done a drunken slaughter, and defac'd
 The precious image of our dear Redeemer,
 You straight are on your knees for pardon, pardon ;
 And I, unjustly too, must grant it you : —
 But for my brother, not a man would speak, —
 Nor I (ungracious) speak unto myself
 For him, poor soul. — The proudest of you all
 Have been beholden to him in his life. —
 Yet none of you would once plead for his life. —
 O God ! I fear, thy justice will take hold
 On me, and you, and mine, and yours, for this. —
 Come, Hastings, help me to my closet.⁵ O,
 Poor Clarence !

[*Exeunt* King, Queen, HASTINGS, RIVERS, DOR-
 SET, and GREY.]

⁴ ——— *be advis'd ?*) i. e. deliberate ; consider what I was about
 to do. So, in *The Letters of the Paston Family*, Vol. II. p. 279 :
 "Written in haste with short advisement," &c. See also *The Two*
Gentlemen of Verona, Vol. IV. p. 215. n. 3. MALONE.

⁵ *Come, Hastings, help me to my closet.*] Hastings was Lord
 Chamberlain to king Edward IV. MALONE.

GLO. This is the fruit of rashness! — Mark'd you not,

How that the guilty kindred of the queen
Look'd pale, when they did hear of Clarence's
death?

O! they did urge it still unto the king:
God will revenge it. Come, lords; will you go,
To comfort Edward with our company?

BUCK. We wait upon your grace. [Exeunt.]

SCENE II.

The same.

*Enter the Duchess of York,⁶ with a son and daughter
of Clarence.*

SON. Good grandam, tell us, is our father dead?

DUCH. No, boy.

DAUGH. Why do you weep so oft and beat your
breast;

And cry—O Clarence, *my unhappy son!*

SON. Why do you look on us, and shake your
head,

And call us—orphans, wretches, cast-aways,
If that our noble father be alive?

DUCH. My pretty cousins,⁷ you mistake me
both;

⁶ *Enter the Duchess of York,*] Cecily, daughter of Ralph Neville first earl of Westmoreland, and widow of Richard duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield in 1460. She survived her husband thirty-five years, living till the year 1495. MALONE.

⁷——— *my pretty cousins,*] The dutchess is here addressing her grandchildren, but *cousin* was the term used in Shakspeare's time, by uncles to nephews and nieces, grandfathers to grandchildren,

I do lament the sickness of the king,
As loath to lose him, not your father's death;
It were lost sorrow, to wail one that's lost.

SON. Then, grandam, you conclude that he is
dead.

The king my uncle is to blame for this:
God will revenge it; whom I will importune
With earnest prayers, all to that effect.

DAUGH. And so will I.

DUCH. Peace, children, peace! the king doth
love you well:

Incapable and shallow innocents,⁸
You cannot guess who caus'd your father's death.

SON. Grandam, we can: for my good uncle
Gloster

Told me, the king, provok'd to't by the queen,
Devis'd impeachments to imprison him:
And when my uncle told me so, he wept,
And pitied me, and kindly kiss'd my cheek;
Bade me rely on him, as on my father,
And he would love me dearly as his child.

DUCH. Ah, that deceit should steal such gentle
shapes,
And with a virtuous visor hide deep vice!
He is my son, ay, and therein my shame,
Yet from my dugs he drew not this deceit.

SON. Think you, my uncle did dissemble,⁹ gran-
dam?

&c. It seems to have been used instead of our *kinsman*, and *kins-*
woman, and to have supplied the place of both. MALONE.

See note on *Othello*, Act. I. sc. i. STEEVENS.

⁸ Incapable and shallow innocents,] *Incapable* is unintelligent.

MALONE.

So, in *Hamlet*:

“As one *incapable* of her own distress.” STEEVENS.

⁹ — my uncle did dissemble,] Shakspeare uses *dissemble* in the

DUCH. Ay, boy.

SON. I cannot think it. Hark! what noise is this?

Enter Queen ELIZABETH, distractedly; RIVERS, and DORSET, following her.

Q. ELIZ. Ah! who shall hinder me to wail and weep?

To chide my fortune, and torment myself?
I'll join with black despair against my soul,
And to myself become an enemy.

DUCH. What means this scene of rude impatience?

Q. ELIZ. To make an act of tragick violence:—
Edward, my lord, thy son, our king, is dead.—
Why grow the branches, when the root is gone?
Why wither not the leaves, that want their sap?—
If you will live, lament; if die, be brief;
That our swift-winged souls may catch the king's:
Or, like obedient subjects, follow him
To his new kingdom of perpetual rest.²

DUCH. Ah, so much interest have I in thy sorrow,
As I had title in thy noble husband!
I have bewept a worthy husband's death,
And liv'd by looking on his images:³

sense of acting fraudulently, feigning what we do not feel or think; though strictly it means to conceal our real thoughts or affections. So also Milton in the passage quoted in p. 321. n. 7.
MALONE.

² — of perpetual rest.] So the quarto. The folio reads — of ne'er changing night. MALONE.

³ — his images:) The children by whom he was represented.
JOHNSON.

But now, two mirrors of his princely semblance
 Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death ; ⁴
 And I for comfort have but one false glass,
 That grieves me when I see my shame in him.
 Thou art a widow ; yet thou art a mother,
 And hast the comfort of thy children left thee :
 But death hath snatch'd my husband from mine
 arms,

And pluck'd two crutches from my feeble hands,
 Clarence, and Edward. O, what cause have I,
 (Thine being but a moiety of my grief,)
 To over-go thy plaints, and drown thy cries ?

SON. Ah, aunt ! you wept not for our father's
 death ;

How can we aid you with our kindred tears ?

DAUGH. Our fatherless distress was left unmoan'd,
 Your widow-dolour likewise be unwept !

Q. ELIZ. Give me no help in lamentation,
 I am not barren to bring forth laments :
 All springs reduce their currents to mine eyes,
 That I, being govern'd by the watry moon, ⁵

So, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, Lucretius says to his daughter,

"O, from thy cheeks my image thou hast torn." MALONE.

⁴ *But now, two mirrors of his princely semblance*

Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death ;] So, in our authour's
Rape of Lucrece :

"Poor broken glass, I often did behold

"In thy sweet semblance my old age new born ;

"But now, that fair fresh mirror, dim and old,

"Shows me a bare-bon'd death by time out-worn."

Again, in his 3d Sonnet :

"Thou art thy mother's glass," &c. MALONE.

⁵ ——— *being govern'd by the watry moon.*) That I may live hereafter
 under the influence of the moon, which governs the tides,
 and by the help of that influence drown the world. The introduc-
 tion of the moon is not very natural. JOHNSON.

The same thought has already occurred in *King Henry IV. P. I :*
 "—— being governed, as the sea is, by the moon." STEEVENS.

May send forth plenteous tears to drown the world!
Ah! for my husband, for my dear lord Edward!

CHIL. Ah, for our father, for our dear lord Clarence!

DUCH. Alas, for both, both mine, Edward and Clarence!

Q. ELIZ. What stay had I, but Edward? and he's gone.

CHIL. What stay had we, but Clarence? and he's gone.

DUCH. What stays had I, but they? and they are gone.

Q. ELIZ. Was never widow, had so dear a loss,

CHIL. Were never orphans, had so dear a loss.

DUCH. Was never mother, had so dear a loss.

Alas! I am the mother of these griefs;

Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general.

She for an Edward weeps, and so do I;

I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she:

These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I:⁶

I for an Edward weep, so do not they;⁷ —

⁶ ——— *and so do I:*] So the quarto. The variation of the folio is remarkable. It reads — *so do not they.* MALONE.

⁷ *I for an Edward weep, so do not they:*] The text is here made out partly from the folio and partly from the quarto. In the quarto this and the preceding line stand thus:

These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I;

I for an Edward weep, *and so do they.*

The end of the second line is evidently corrupted. In the Ms. from which the folio was printed, or in a corrected quarto copy, the two lines undoubtedly were right:

These babes for Clarence weep, [*and so do I;*]

I for an Edward weep,] so do NOT they.

But the compositor's eye passing over two half lines, the passage was printed thus in the folio, in one line:

These babes for Clarence weep, so do not they.

I have stated this matter thus particularly, because it confirms an observation that I have more than once had occasion to make in

Alas! you three, on me, threefold distrefs'd,
 Pour all your tears, I am your sorrow's nurse,
 And I will pamper it with lamentations.

DOR. Comfort, dear mother; God is much displeas'd,⁸

That you take with unthankfulness his doing:
 In common worldly things, 'tis call'd — ungrateful,
 With dull unwillingness to repay a debt,
 Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent;
 Much more, to be thus opposite with heaven,⁹
 For it requires² the royal debt it lent you.

revising these plays; that there is reason to suspect that many of the difficulties in our author's works have arisen from the omission of either single words, single lines, or the latter half of one line with the half of the next: a solution which readers are very slow to admit, and generally consider as chimerical. One week's acquaintance with the business of the press (without those proofs which a collation of the quartos with each other and with the first folio affords) would soon convince them that my supposition is not a mere offspring of imagination. In the plays of which there is no authentick copy but the first folio, there is no means of *proving* such omissions to have happened; but the present and other proofs of their having actually happened in the other plays, lay surely a reasonable ground for conjecturing that similar errors have happened in those pieces of which there is only a single ancient copy extant, and entitle such conjectures to indulgence.

See Vol. VI. p. 6, n. 4.; Vol. XI. p. 92, n. 3; Vol. XII. p. 57, n. 4, and p. 357, n. 7: Vol. XIV. p. 296, n. 9; *Coriolanus*, Vol. XVII. A& II. sc. iii. and *Antony and Cleopatra*, Vol. XVIII. A& IV. sc. x.

In this note, and throughout this play, where I have spoken of *the quarto*, without any specification of the year when printed, I meant the quarto 1598, the earliest which I had then seen. The quarto 1597, I find, corresponds with the text. MALONE.

⁸ *Comfort, dear mother, &c.*] This line and the following eleven lines are found only in the folio. MALONE.

⁹ — — *to be thus opposite with heaven,*] This was the phraseology of the time. See Vol. V. p. 308, n. 9. MALONE.

² *For it requires — —*] i. e. because. So, in *Othello*:

“Haply, for I am black” ——. STEEVENS.

RIV. Madam, bethink you, like a careful mother,
Of the young prince your son: send straight for
him,

Let him be crown'd; in him your comfort lives:
Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave,
And plant your joys in living Edward's throne.

Enter GLOSTER, BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HAST-
INGS, RATCLIFF, and *Others*.

GLO. Sister, have comfort: all of us have cause
To wail the dimming of our shining star;
But none can cure their harms by wailing them, —
Madam, my mother, I do cry your mercy,
I did not see your grace: — Humbly on my knee
I crave your blessing.

DUCH. God blefs thee; and put meekness in thy
breast,
Love, charity, obedience, and true duty!

GLO. Amen; and make me die a good old man! —
That is the butt-end of a mother's blessing;

[*Aside.*

I marvel, that her grace did leave it out.

BUCK. You cloudy princes, and heart-sorrowing
peers,

That bear this mutual heavy load of moan,
Now cheer each other in each other's love:
Though we have spent our harvest of this king,
We are to reap the harvest of his son.

The broken rancour of your high-swoln hearts,
But lately splinted, knit, and join'd together,
Must gently be preserv'd, cherish'd, and kept:³

³ *The broken rancour of your high-swoln hearts,
But lately splinted, knit, and join'd together,
Must gently be preserv'd, cherish'd, and kept:]* As this passage
stands, it is the rancour of their hearts that is to be preserv'd and

Me seemeth good, that, with some little train,
Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be
fetch'd⁴

Hither to London, to be crown'd our king.

RIV. Why with⁵ some little train, my lord of
Buckingham?

BUCK. Marry, my lord, lest, by a multitude,
The new-heal'd wound of malice should break out;
Which would be so much the more dangerous,
By how much the estate is green, and yet ungo-
vern'd:

Where every horse bears his commanding rein,
And may direct his course as please himself,
As well the fear of harm, as harm apparent,
In my opinion, ought to be prevented.

GLO. I hope, the king made peace with all of us;
And the compact is firm, and true, in me.

RIV. And so in me;⁶ and so, I think, in all;

cherished. — But we must not attempt to amend this mistake, as it
seems to proceed from the inadvertency of Shakspeare himself.

M. MASON.

Their broken *rancour* recently *splinted* and *knit*, the poet consi-
ders as a *new league of amity and concord*; and this it is that Buck-
ingham exhorts them to preserve. MALONE.

⁴ *Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fetch'd* —] Edward the
young prince, in his father's life time, and at his demise, kept
his household at Ludlow, as prince of Wales; under the governance
of Antony Woodville, earl of Rivers, his uncle by the mother's
side. The intention of his being sent thither was to see justice
done in the Marches; and, by the authority of his presence, to
restrain the Welshmen, who were wild, dissolute, and ill-disposed,
from their accustomed murders and outrages. Vid. Hall, Holin-
shed, &c. THEOBALD.

⁵ *Why with &c.*] This line and the following seventeen lines
are found only in the folio. MALONE.

⁶ *Riv. And so in me;*] This speech (as a modern editor has

Yet, since it is but green, it should be put
To no apparent likelihood of breach,
Which, haply, by much company might be urg'd:
Therefore I say, with noble Buckingham,
That it is meet so few should fetch the prince.

HAST. And so say I.

GLO. Then be it so; and go we to determine
Who they shall be that straight shall post to Ludlow.
Madam, — and you my mother, — will you go
To give your censures⁷ in this weighty business?

[*Exeunt all but BUCKINGHAM and GLOSTER.*

BUCK. My lord, whoever journeys to the prince,
For God's sake, let not us two stay at home:
For, by the way, I'll sort occasion,
As index to the story⁸ we late talk'd of,
To part the queen's proud kindred from the prince.

GLO. My other self, my counsel's consistory,
My oracle, my prophet! — My dear cousin,

observed) seems rather to belong to Hastings, who was of the duke
of Gloster's party. The next speech might be given to Stanley.
MALONE.

⁷ ——— your censures ———] To *censure* formerly meant to deliver
an opinion. So, in Heywood's *Golden Age*, 1611:

“ ——— yet if I *censure* freely,

“ I needs must think that face and personage

“ Was ne'er deriv'd from baseness.”

Again, in *Marius and Sylla*, 1594:

“ Cinna affirms the senate's *censure* just,

“ And faith, let Marius lead the legions forth.”

Again, in *Orlando Furioso*, 1594:

“ Set each man forth his passions how he can,

“ And let her *censure* make the happiest man.” STEEVENS.

⁸ I'll sort occasion,

As index to the story —] i. e. preparatory — by way of prelude.

So, in *Hamlet*:

“ That storms so loud and thunders in the *index*.”

See the note on that passage. MALONE.

Again, in *Othello*: “ ——— an *index* and obscure prologue to the
history of lust and foul thoughts.” STEEVENS.

I, as a child, will go by thy direction.
Towards Ludlow then,⁷ for we'll not stay behind.
[*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E III.

The same. A Street.

Enter two Citizens, meeting.

1. CIT. Good morrow, neighbour: Whither away so fast?

2. CIT. I promise you, I scarcely know myself: Hear you the news abroad?

1. CIT. Yes; the king's dead.⁸

2. CIT. Ill news, by'r lady; seldom comes the better:⁹

I fear, I fear, 'twill prove a giddy world.

Enter another Citizen.

3. CIT. Neighbours, God speed!

1. CIT. Give you good morrow, sir.

⁷ *Towards Ludlow then,*] The folio here and a few lines higher, for *Ludlow* reads — *London*. Few of our author's plays stand more in need of the assistance furnished by a collation with the quartos, than that before us. MALONE.

⁸ *Yes; the king's dead.*] Thus the second folio. The first, without regard to measure —

Yes, that the king is dead. STEEVENS.

⁹ — *seldom comes the better:*] A proverbial saying, taken notice of in *The English Courtier and Country Gentleman*, quarto, bl. l. 1586, sign. B. " — as the proverb sayth, *seldome come the better.* Val. That proverb indeed is auncient, and for the most part true," &c. REED.

The modern editors read — *a better*. The passage quoted above proves that there is no corruption in the text; and shows how very dangerous it is to disturb our author's phraseology, merely because it is not familiar to our ears at present. MALONE.

3. CIT. Doth the news hold of good king Edward's death?

2. CIT. Ay, fir, it is too true; God help, the while!

3. CIT. Then, masters, look to see a troublous world.

1. CIT. No, no; by God's good grace, his son shall reign.

3. CIT. Woe to that land, that's govern'd by a child!²

2. CIT. In him there is a hope of government;
That, in his nonage, council under him,³
And, in his full and ripen'd years, himself,
No doubt, shall then, and till then, govern well.

1. CIT. So stood the state, when Henry the sixth
Was crown'd in Paris but at nine months old.

3. CIT. Stood the state so? no, no, good friends,
God wot;

For then this land was famously enrich'd
With politick grave counsel; then the king
Had virtuous uncles to protect his grace.

1. CIT. Why, so hath this, both by his father
and mother.

3. CIT. Better it were, they all came by his father;

Or, by his father, there were none at all:

² *Woe to that land, that's govern'd by a child!*]

“Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.”

Ecclesiastes, ch. x. STEEVENS.

³ That, in his nonage, council under him,] So the quarto. The folio reads — *Which* in his nonage. — *Which* is frequently used by our author for *who*, and is still so used in our Liturgy. But neither reading affords a very clear sense. Dr. Johnson thinks a line lost before this. I suspect that one was rather omitted after it.

MALONE.

For emulation now, who shall be nearest,
Will touch us all too near, if God prevent not.
O, full of danger is the duke of Gloster;
And the queen's sons, and brothers, haught and
proud:

And were they to be rul'd, and not to rule,
This sickly land might solace as before.

1. CIT. Come, come, we fear the worst; all will
be well.

3. CIT. When clouds are seen, wise men put on
their cloaks;

When great leaves fall, then winter is at hand;
When the sun sets, who doth not look for night?
Untimely storms make men expect a dearth:
All may be well; but, if God sort it so,
'Tis more than we deserve, or I expect.

2. CIT. Truly the hearts of men are full of fear,
You cannot reason almost with a man⁴
That looks not heavily, and full of dread.

3. CIT. Before the days of change,⁵ still is it so:
By a divine instinct, men's minds mistrust

⁴ *You cannot reason almost with a man—*] *To reason, is to converse.* So, in *King John*:

"Our griefs, and not our manners, *reason* now."

See Vol. XI. p. 433, n. 5. STEEVENS.

⁵ *Before the days of change, &c.*] This is from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. III. p. 721. "Before such great things, men's hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgive them; as the sea without wind swelleth of himself some time before a tempest."

TOLLET.

It is evident in this passage, that both Holinshed and Shakspeare allude to St. Luke. See ch. xxi. 25, &c. HENLEY.

It is manifest that Shakspeare here followed Holinshed, having adopted almost his words. Being very conversant with the sacred writings, he perhaps had the Evangelist in his thoughts when he wrote, above,

"Truly, the hearts of men are full of fear." MALONE.

Ensuing danger; as, by proof, we see
The water swell before a boist'rous storm.
But leave it all to God. Whither away?

2. CIT. Marry, we were sent for to the justices.

3. CIT. And so was I; I'll bear you company.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

*Enter the Archbishop of York, the young Duke of York,
Queen ELIZABETH, and the Duchess of York.*

ARCH. Last night, I heard, they lay at Stony-
Stratford;

And at Northampton they do rest to-night:⁶
To-morrow, or next day, they will be here.

⁶ *Last night, I heard, they lay at Stony-Stratford;*

And at Northampton they do rest to-night:] Thus both the folios.

The quartos as well as the modern editors, read:

Last night, I heard, they lay at Northampton;

At Stony-Stratford they do rest to-night.

I have followed the folios; the historical fact being as there represented. The prince and his company did, in their way to London, actually lie at *Stony-Stratford* one night, and were the next morning taken back by the duke of Gloucester to *Northampton*, where they lay the following night. See Hall, *Edward V.* fol. 6. See also *Remarks &c. on the last edition of Shakspeare* [that of 1778], p. 133. REED.

Shakspeare, it is clear, either forgot this circumstance, or did not think it worth attending to.—According to the reading of the original copy in quarto, at the time the archbishop is speaking the king had not reached *Stony-Stratford*, and consequently his being taken back to *Northampton* on the morning after he had been at *Stratford*, could not be in the authour's contemplation. Shakspeare well knew that *Stony-Stratford* was nearer to London than *Northampton*; therefore in the first copy the young king is made to sleep

DUCH. I long with all my heart to see the prince;
I hope, he is much grown since last I saw him.

on one night at Northampton, and the archbishop very naturally supposes that on the next night, that is, on the night of the day on which he is speaking, the king would reach Stony-Stratford. It is highly improbable that the editor of the folio should have been apprized of the historical fact above stated; and much more likely that he made the alteration for the sake of improving the metre, regardless of any other circumstance. How little he attended to topography appears from a preceding scene, in which Gloster, though in London, talks of sending a messenger to that town, instead of Ludlow. See p. 334, n. 8.

By neither reading can the truth of history be preserved, and therefore we may be sure that Shakspeare did not mean in this instance to adhere to it. According to the present reading, the scene is on the day on which the king was journeying from Northampton to Stratford; and of course the messenger's account of the peers being seized, &c. which was on the next day after the king had lain at Stratford, is inaccurate. If the folio reading be adopted, the scene is indeed placed on the day on which the king was seized; but the archbishop is supposed to be apprized of a fact which *before the entry of the Messenger* he manifestly does not know; and which Shakspeare did not intend he should appear to know; namely, the duke of Gloster's coming to Stony-Stratford the morning after the king had lain there, taking him forceably back to Northampton, and seizing the lords Rivers, Grey, &c. The truth is, that the queen herself, the person most materially interested in the welfare of her son, did not hear of the king's being carried back from Stony-Stratford to Northampton till about *midnight* of the day on which this violence was offered him by his uncle. See Hall, Edward V. fol. 6. Historical truth being thus deviated from, we have a right to presume that Shakspeare in this instance did not mean to pay *any* attention to it, and that the reading, furnished by the quarto was that which came from his pen: nor is it possible that *he* could have made the alteration which the folio exhibits, it being utterly inconsistent with the whole tenour and scope of the present scene. If the archbishop had known that the young king was carried back to Northampton, he must also have known that the lords who accompanied him, were sent to prison; and instead of eagerly asking the Messenger in p. 341, "*What news?*" might have informed him of the whole transaction.

The truth of history is neglected in another instance also. The messenger says, the lords Rivers, Grey, &c. had been sent by Gloster to *Pomfret*, whither they were not sent till some time after

Q. ELIZ. But I hear, no; they say, my son of
York

Hath almost overta'en him in his growth.

YORK. Ay, mother, but I would not have it so.

DUCH. Why, my young cousin? it is good to
grow.

YORK. Grandam, one night as we did sit at sup-
per,

My uncle Rivers talk'd how I did grow

More than my brother; *Ay*, quoth my uncle Gloster,

Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace:

And since, methinks, I would not grow so fast,

Because sweet flowers are slow, and weeds make
haste.

DUCH. 'Good faith, 'good faith, the saying did
not hold

In him that did object the same to thee:

He was the wretched'st thing,⁷ when he was young,

So long a growing, and so leisurely,

wards, they being sent at first, according to Sir Thomas More,
(whose relation Hall and Holinshed transcribed) "into the North-
country, into diverse places to prison, and *afterwards* all to Pontef-
ract."

The reading of the text is that of the quarto 1597. MALONE.

Shakspeare does not always attend to the propriety of his own
alterations. As historical truth therefore, which ever reading be
chosen, must be violated, I am content with such an arrangement
as renders the versification smoothest. Where sense cannot claim
a preference, a casting vote may be safely given in favour of
sound. STEEVENS.

⁷ *the wretched'st thing,*] *Wretched* is here used in a sense yet
retained in familiar language, for *paltry*, *pitiful*, being below ex-
pectation. JOHNSON.

Rather, the weakest, most puny, least thriving. RITSON.

That, if his rule were true, he should be gracious.

ARCH. And so, no doubt, he is, my gracious madam.

DUCH. I hope, he is; but yet let mothers doubt.

YORK. Now, by my troth, if I had been remember'd,⁸

I could have given my uncle's grace a flout,
To touch his growth, nearer than he touch'd mine.

DUCH. How, my young York? I pr'ythee, let me hear it.

YORK. Marry, they say, my uncle grew so fast,
That he could gnaw a crust at two hours old;
'Twas full two years ere I could get a tooth.
Grandam, this would have been a biting jest.

DUCH. I pr'ythee, pretty York, who told thee this?

YORK. Grandam, his nurse.

DUCH. His nurse! why, she was dead ere thou wast born.

YORK. If 'twere not she, I cannot tell who told me.

Q. ELIZ. A parlous boy:⁹ — Go to, you are too shrewd.

ARCH. Good madam, be not angry with the child.

Q. ELIZ. Pitchers have ears.²

⁸ — *been remember'd,*] *To be remembered* is in Shakspeare, to have one's memory quick, to have one's thoughts about one.

JOHNSON.

⁹ *A parlous boy:*] *Parlous* is keen, shrewd. So, in *Law Tricks*, &c. 1608:

“ *A parlous youth, sharp and satirical.*” STEEVENS.

It is a corruption of *perilous*, dangerous; the sense it has here. The queen evidently means to chide him. RITSON.

² *Pitchers have ears.*] Shakspeare has not quoted this proverbial

*Enter a Messenger.*³

ARCH. Here comes a messenger:
What news?

MES. Such news, my lord,
As grieves me to unfold.

Q. ELIZ. How doth the prince?

MES. Well, madam, and in health.

DUCH. What is thy news?

MES. Lord Rivers, and lord Grey, are sent to
Pomfret,

With them sir Thomas Vaughan, prisoners.

DUCH. Who hath committed them?

MES. The mighty dukes,
Gloster and Buckingham.

Q. ELIZ. For what offence?⁴

saying correctly. It appears from *A Dialogue both pleasaunt and pietifull*, by William Bulleyn, 1564, that the old proverb is this:
“*Small pitchers have great ears.*” MALONE.

This proverb has already occurred in *The Taming of the Shrew*:

“*Pitchers have ears, and I have many servants.*” RITSON.

³ *Enter a Messenger.*] The quarto reads — *Enter Dorset.*

STEEVENS.

⁴ *For what offence?*] This question is given to the archbishop in former copies, but the messenger plainly speaks to the queen or duchess. JOHNSON.

The question is given in the quarto to the archbishop, (or cardinal, as he is there called,) where also we have in the following speech, my gracious *lady*. The editor of the folio altered *lady* to *lord*; but it is more probable that the compositor prefixed *Car.* (the designation there of the archbishop) to the words, “For what offence?” instead of *Qu.* than that *lady* should have been printed in the subsequent speech instead of *lord*. Compositors always keep the names of the interlocutors in each scene ready-composed for use; and hence mistakes sometimes arise. MALONE.

MES. The sum of all I can, I have disclos'd;
Why, or for what, the nobles were committed,
Is all unknown to me, my gracious lady.

Q. ELIZ. Ah me, I see the ruin of my house!
The tiger now hath seiz'd the gentle hind;⁵
Insulting tyranny begins to jut
Upon the innocent and awless⁶ throne:—
Welcome, destruction, blood, and massacre!
I see, as in a map, the end of all.

DUCH. Accursed and unquiet wrangling days!
How many of you have mine eyes beheld?
My husband lost his life to get the crown;
And often up and down my sons were tost,
For me to joy, and weep, their gain, and loss:
And being feated, and domestick broils
Clean over-blown, themselves, the conquerors,
Make war upon themselves; brother to brother,
Blood to blood, self 'gainst self:—O, preposterous
And frantick outrage, end thy damned spleen;
Or let me die, to look on death no more!⁷

Q. ELIZ. Come, come, my boy, we will to sanctuary.—

Madam, farewell.

DUCH.

Stay, I will go with you.

⁵ *The tiger now hath seiz'd the gentle hind;*] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

“—— While she, the picture of pure piety,

“ Like a white hind under the gype's sharp claws ——.”

MALONE.

⁶ —— *awless* —] Not producing awe, not revered. To jut upon is to encroach. JOHNSON.

⁷ *Or let me die, to look on death no more!*] *Earth* is the reading of all the copies from the first edition put out by the players, downwards. But I have restored the reading of the old quarto in 1597, which is copied by all the other authentic quartos, by which the thought is finely and properly improved.

Or let me die, to look on death no more. THEOBALD.



Painted by James Northcote.

Engraved in Letter by C. Mitchell.

SHAKSPEARE

Prince. Richard of York! how fares our loving brother?

York. Well, my dread lord; so I must call you now.

Prince. As brother, to our grief, as it is yours:

King Richard the Third.

ACT III SCENE I.

Too late he died, that might have kept that title,

Which by his death hath lost much majesty.

Geo. How fares our cousin, noble lord of York?

Q. ELIZ. You have no cause.

ARCH.

My gracious lady, go,
[to the Queen.]

And thither bear your treasure and your goods.
For my part, I'll resign unto your grace
The seal I keep; And so betide to me,
As well I tender you, and all of yours!
Come, I'll conduct you to the sanctuary. [*Exeunt.*]

ACT III. SCENE I.

The same. A Street.

*The trumpets sound. Enter the Prince of Wales,
GLOSTER, BUCKINGHAM, Cardinal Bouchier,⁸
and Others.*

BUCK. Welcome, sweet prince, to London, to
your chamber.⁹

GLO. Welcome, dear cousin, my thoughts' so-
vereign:

⁸ *Cardinal Bouchier,*] Thomas Bouchier was made a Cardinal, and elected Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1464. He died in 1486.

MALONE,

⁹ — to your chamber.] London was anciently called *Camera regis*. POPE.

So, in Heywood's *If you know not me you know Nobody*, 1633, Part II:

"This city, our great chamber." STEEVENS.

This title it began to have immediately after the Norman conquest. See *Coke's 4 Inst.* 243. where it is styled *Camera Regis*; *Camden's Britannia*, 374; Ben Jonson's *Account of King James's Entertainment in passing to his Coronation*, &c. REED.

The weary way hath made you melancholy.

PRINCE. No, uncle; but our crosses on the way
Have made it tedious, wearisome, and heavy :
I want more uncles here to welcome me.

GLO. Sweet prince, the untainted virtue of your
years

Hath not yet div'd into the world's deceit :
No more can you distinguish of a man,
Than of his outward shew ; which, God he knows,
Seldom, or never, jumpeth with the heart. ³
Those uncles, which you want, were dangerous ;
Your grace attended to their sugar'd words,
But look'd not on the poison of their hearts :
God keep you from them, and from such false
friends !

PRINCE. God keep me from false friends ! but
they were none.

GLO. My lord, the mayor of London comes to
greet you.

Enter the Lord Mayor, and his Train.

MAY. God bless your grace with health and
happy days !

PRINCE. I thank you, good my lord ;—and thank
you all.— [*Exeunt Mayor, &c.*

I thought, my mother, and my brother York,
Would long ere this have met us on the way :—
Fie, what a slug is Hastings ! that he comes not
To tell us, whether they will come, or no.

³ — jumpeth with the heart,] So, in *Soliman and Perseda*,
1599:

“ Went thou my friend, thy mind would jump with mine.”
STEEVENS.

Enter HASTINGS.

BUCK. And, in good time, ⁴ here comes the sweating lord.

PRINCE. Welcome, my lord: What, will our mother come?

HAST. On what occasion, God he knows, not I,
The queen your mother, and your brother York,
Have taken sanctuary: The tender prince
Would fain have come with me to meet your grace,
But by his mother was perforce withheld.

BUCK. Fie! what an indirect and peevish course
Is this of hers?—Lord cardinal, will your grace
Persuade the queen to send the duke of York
Unto his princely brother presently?
If she deny,—lord Hastings, go with him,
And from her jealous arms pluck him perforce.

CARD. My lord of Buckingham, if my weak
oratory
Can from his mother win the duke of York,
Anon expect him here: ⁵ But if she be obdurate
To mild entreaties, God in heaven forbid
We should infringe the holy privilege
Of blessed sanctuary! not for all this land,
Would I be guilty of so deep a sin.

BUCK. You are too senseless-obstinate, my lord,
Too ceremonious, and traditional: ⁶
Weigh it but with the grossness of this age, ⁷

⁴ — in good time,] De bonne heure. Fr. STEEVENS.

⁵ Anon expect him here: &c.] The word—anon, may safely be omitted. It only serves to vitiate the measure. STEEVENS.

⁶ Too ceremonious, and traditional:] Ceremonious for superstitious; traditional for adherent to old customs. WARBURTON.

⁷ Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,] But the more gross, that is, the more superstitious the age was, the stronger would be

You break not sanctuary in seizing him.
 The benefit thereof is always granted
 To those whose dealings have deserv'd the place,
 And those who have the wit to claim the place :
 This prince hath neither claim'd it, nor deserv'd it;
 And therefore, in mine opinion, cannot have it:
 Then, taking him from thence, that is not there,
 You break no privilege nor charter there.
 Oft have I heard of sanctuary men ;
 But sanctuary children, ne'er till now. ⁷

the imputation of violated sanctuary. The question, we see by what follows, is whether sanctuary could be claimed by an infant. The speaker resolves it in the negative, because it could be claimed by those only whose actions necessitated them to fly thither; or by those who had an understanding to demand it; neither of which could be an infant's case: It is plain then, the first line, which introduces this reasoning, should be read thus:

Weigh it but with the greenness of his age,

i. e. the young duke of York's, whom his mother had fled with to sanctuary. The corrupted reading of the old quarto is something nearer the true:

—— *the greatness of his age.* WARBURTON.

This emendation is received by Hanmer, and is very plausible; yet the common reading may stand:

Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,

You break not sanctuary, ——

That is, compare the act of seizing him with the gross and licentious practices of *these times*, it will not be considered as a violation of sanctuary, for you may give such reasons as men are now used to admit. JOHNSON.

The truth is, the quarto 1598, and the two subsequent quartos, as well as the folio, all read—*grossness*. *Greatness* is the corrupt reading of a late quarto of no authority, printed in 1622.

MALONE.

⁷ *Oft have I heard of sanctuary men; &c.*] These arguments against the privilege of sanctuary are taken from Sir Thomas More's *Life of King Edward the Fifth*, published by Stowe: "—— And verily, I have heard of sanctuary men, but I never heard earst of sanctuary children," &c. STEEVENS.

More's *Life of King Edward V.* was published also by Hall and Holinshed, and in the *Chronicle of Holinshed* Shakspeare found this argument. MALONE.

CARD. My lord, you shall o'er-rule my mind for once.—

Come on, lord Hastings, will you go with me?

HAST. I go, my lord.

PRINCE. Good lords, make all the speedy haste you may.

[*Exeunt Cardinal and HASTINGS.*]

Say, uncle Gloster, if our brother come,

Where shall we sojourn till our coronation?

GLO. Where it seems best unto your royal self.
If I may counsel you, some day, or two,
Your highness shall repose you at the Tower:
Then where you please, and shall be thought most
fit

For your best health and recreation.

PRINCE. I do not like the Tower, of any place:—
Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord?

GLO. He did, my gracious lord, begin that place;

Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edify'd.*

PRINCE. Is it upon record? or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it?

BUCK. Upon record, my gracious lord.

PRINCE. But say, my lord, it were not register'd;
Methinks, the truth should live from age to age,
As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,⁹

* *He did &c.*] I suppose, this and the following line, (the useless epithet—*gracious*, omitted) should be read thus:

*He did, my lord, begin that place; which, since,
Succeeding ages have re-edify'd.* STEEVENS.

⁹ *As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,*] And so it is: and, by that means, like most other *retailed* things, became adulterated. We should read:

—— intail'd to all posterity;
which is finely and sensibly expressed, as if *truth* was the nature

Even to the general all-ending day.

GLO. So wise so young, they say, do ne'er live long.⁹ [*Aside.*

PRINCE. What say you, uncle?

GLO. I say, without characters, fame lives long.
Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word.² } *Aside.*

inheritance of our children; which it is impiety to deprive them of. WARBURTON.

Retailed may signify diffused, dispersed. JOHNSON.

Retailed means handed down from one to another.—Goods *retailed*, are those which pass from one purchaser to another.—Richard uses the word *retailed* in the same sense in the fourth act, where speaking to the Queen of her daughter he says,

“To whom I will *retail* my conquests won.” M. MASON.

Minshew in his Dictionary, 1617, besides the verb *retail* in the mercantile sense, has the verb “to *retaile* or *retell*, G. *renommer*, a Lat. *renumerare*,” and in that sense, I conceive, it is employed here. MALONE.

⁹ *So wise so young, they say, do ne'er live long.*]

Is cadit ante senem, qui sapit ante diem,
a proverbial line. STEEVENS.

Bright in his treatise on Melancholy, 1586. p. 52, says “I have knowne children languishing of the splene, obstructed and altered in temper, talke with gravitie and wisdom, surpassing those tender yeares, and their judgement carrying a marvellous imitation of the wisdom of the ancient, having after a sorte attained that by disease, which other have by course of yeares: whereon I take it, the proverbe ariseth, that *they be of short life who are of wit so pregnant.*”

REED.

² *Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity.*

I moralize two meanings in one word.] By *vice*, the author means not a quality, but a person. There was hardly an old play, till the period of the Reformation, which had not in it a *devil*, and a droll character, a jester; (who was to play upon the devil) and this buffoon went by the name of a *Vice*. This *buffoon* was at first accoutred with a long jerkin, a cap with a pair of ass's ears, and a wooden dagger, with which (like another Harlequin) he was to make sport in belabouring the *devil*. This was the constant entertainment in the times of *popery*, whilst spirits, and witchcraft, and exorcising held their own. When the Reformation took place, the

PRINCE. That Julius Cæsar was a famous man;
With what his valour did enrich his wit,

stage shook off some grossities, and encreased in refinements. The master-devil then was soon dismissed from the scene; and this buffoon was changed into a subordinate fiend, whose business was to range on earth, and seduce poor mortals into that personated vicious quality, which he occasionally supported; as, *iniquity* in general, *hypocrisy*, *usury*, *vanity*, *prodigality*, *gluttony*, &c. Now, as the fiend, (or *vice*,) who personated Iniquity (or Hypocrisy, for instance) could never hope to play his game to the purpose but by hiding his cloven foot, and assuming a semblance quite different from his real character; he must certainly put on a *formal* demeanour, *moralize* and *prevaricate* in his words, and pretend a *meaning* directly opposite to his *genuine* and *primitive intention*. If this does not explain the passage in question, 'tis all that I can at present suggest upon it. THEOBALD.

That the buffoon, or jester of the old English farces, was called the *vice*, is certain: and that, in their *moral* representations, it was common to bring in the deadly sins, is as true. Of these we have yet several remains. But that the *vice* used to assume the personages of those sins, is a fancy of Mr. Theobald's, who knew nothing of the matter. The truth is, the *vice* was always a fool or jester: and, (as the woman, in *The Merchant of Venice*, calls the clown, alluding to the character,) a *merry devil*. Whereas these mortal sins were so many sad serious ones. But what misled our editor was the name, *Iniquity*, given to this *vice*: But it was only on account of his unhappy tricks and rogueries. That it was given to him, and for the reason I mention, appears from the following passage of Jonson's *Staple of News*, second intermeane:

"M. How like you the *vice* i' the play?

"T. Here is never a fiend to carry him away. Besides he has never a wooden dagger.

"M. That was the old way, gossip, when Iniquity came in, like Hocas Pocas, in a jugler's jerkin, with false skirts, like the knave of clubs."

And, in *The Devil's an Ass*, we see this old *vice*, *Iniquity*, described more at large.

From all this, it may be gathered, that the text, where Richard compares himself to the *formal vice*, *Iniquity*, must be corrupt: and the interpolation of some foolish player. The *vice*, or *iniquity* being not a *formal* but a merry, buffoon character. Besides, Shakspeare could never make an exact speaker refer to this character, because the subject he is upon is *tradition* and *antiquity*, which have

His wit fet down, to make his valour live :
 Death makes no conquest of this conqueror ;³

no relation to it ; and because it appears from the turn of the passage, that he is apologizing for his equivocation by a *reputable* practice. To keep the reader no longer in suspense, my conjecture is, that Shakspeare wrote and pointed the lines in this manner :

*Thus like the formal-wise Antiquity,
 I moralize : Two meanings in one word.*

Alluding to the mythologic learning of the antients, of whom they are all here speaking. So that Richard's ironical apology is to this effect, You men of morals who so much extol your all-wise antiquity, in what am I inferior to it? which was but an equivocator as I am. And it is remarkable, that the Greeks themselves called their remote antiquity, *Διχόμυθος*, or the *equivocator*. So far as to the general sense ; as to that which arises particularly out of the corrected expression, I shall only observe, that *formal-wise* is a compound epithet, an extreme fine one, and admirably fitted to the character of the speaker, who thought all *wisdom* but *formality*. It must therefore be read for the future with a hyphen. My other observation is with regard to the pointing ; the common reading :

I moralize two meanings——

is nonsense : but reformed in this manner, very sensible :

*Thus like the formal-wise Antiquity
 I moralize : Two meanings in one word.*

i. e. I moralize as the antients did. And how was that? the having two meanings to one word. A ridicule on the morality of the antients, which he insinuates was no better than equivocating.

WARBURTON.

This alteration Mr. Upton very justly censures. Dr. Warburton, has, in my opinion, done nothing but correct the punctuation, if indeed any alteration be really necessary. See the dissertation on the old *vice* at the end of this play.

To this long collection of notes may be added a question, to what equivocation Richard refers? The position immediately preceding, that *fame lives long without characters*, that is, without the help of letters, seems to have no ambiguity. He must allude to the former line :

So young so wise, they say, do ne'er live long,
 in which he conceals under a proverb, his design of hastening the prince's death. JOHNSON.

The Prince having caught some part of the former line, asks Richard what he says, who, in order to deceive him, preserves in his reply, the latter words of the line, but substitutes other words

For now he lives in fame, though not in life. —
I'll tell you what, my cousin Buckingham.

at the beginning of it, of a different import from those he had uttered. — This is the equivocation that Gloster really made use of, though it does not correspond with his own description of it.

I moralize — two meanings in one word.

Word is not here taken in its literal sense but means a *saying*, a *short sentence*, as *motto* does in Italian, and *bon-mot* in French. — So, in Jonson's *Every man out of his Humour*, Puntarvolo says,

“ Let the word be, *Not without mustard*; thy crest is rare.”

M. MASON.

From the following stage direction, in an old dramattick piece, intituled, *Histrionastix*, or *The Player whipt*, 1610, it appears, that the *Vice* and *Iniquity* were sometimes distinct personages:

“ Enter a roaring devil, with the *Vice* on his back, *Iniquity* in one hand, and *Juventus* in the other.”

The devil likewise makes the distinction in his first speech:

“ Ho, ho, ho! these babes mine are all,

“ The *Vice*, *Iniquitie*, and *Child Prodigal*.”

The following part of this note was obligingly communicated by the Rev. Mr. Bowle, of Idmestone near Salisbury. I know no writer who gives so complete an account of this obsolete character, as archbishop Harpsnet, in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, p. 114, Lond. 1603: “ It was a pretty part (he tells us) in the old church-playes, when the nimble *Vice* would skip up nimbly like a jackanapes into the devil's necke, and ride the devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roare, whereat the people would laugh to see the devil so *vice*-haunted.”

STEEVENS.

Dr. Warburton has endeavoured to support his capricious and violent alteration of the text by a very long note, which in my apprehension carries neither conviction, nor information with it.

The *Vice*, *Iniquity*, cannot with propriety, be said to *moralize* in general; but in the old Moralities he, like Richard, did often “ *moralize two meanings in one word*.”

Our author has again used *moralize* as a verb active in his *Rape of Lucrece*:

“ Nor could she *moralize* his wanton sight,

“ More than his eyes were open to the light.”

In which passage it means, “ to interpret or investigate the *latent meaning* of his wanton looks,” as in the present passage, it signifies either to extract the double and latent meaning of one word or sentence, or to couch two meanings under one word or sentence. So

BUCK. What, my gracious lord?

PRINCE. An if I live until I be a man,
I'll win our ancient right in France again,
Or die a soldier, as I liv'd a king.

GLO. Short summers lightly⁴ have a forward
spring. [Exit.

moral is used by our author in *Much ado about Nothing*, for a *secret meaning*. "There is some *moral* in this Benediculus." See Vol. VI. p. 317, n. 3; and Vol. XIII. p. 495, n. 7. The word which Richard uses in a double sense is *live*, which in his former speech he had used literally, and in the present is used metaphorically. Mr. Mason conceives, because what we now call a motto, was formerly denominated the *mot* or *word*, that *word* may here signify a whole sentence. But the argument is defective. Though in tournaments the motto on a knight's shield was formerly called *The word*, it never at any period was called "*One word*."

The *Vice* of the old moralities was a buffoon character, [See Cotgrave's Dict. "*Badin*, A foole or *Vice* in a play. — *Mime*, A *vice*, foole, jester, &c. in a play."] whose chief employment was to make the audience laugh, and one of the modes by which he effected his purpose was by double meanings, or playing upon words. In these moral representations, *Fraud*, *INIQUITY*, *Covetousness*, *Luxury*, *Gluttony*, *Vanity*, &c. were frequently introduced. Mr. Upton in a dissertation which, on account of its length, is annexed at the end of this play, has shewn, from Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*, and *The Devil's an Ass*, that *Iniquity* was sometimes the *Vice* of the Moralities. Mr. Steevens's note in the foregoing page, shews, that he was not always so.

The *formal Vice* perhaps means, the *shrewd*, the *sensible Vice*. — In *The Comedy of Errors*, "a *formal man*" seems to mean, one in his senses; a rational man. Again, in *Twelfth Night*, Vol. V. p. 306, n. 4: "—— this is evident to any *formal capacity*."

MALONE.

³ —— of this *conqueror*;] For this reading we are indebted to Mr. Theobald, who derived it from the original edition in 1597. All the subsequent ancient copies read corruptly—of *his conqueror*.

MALONE.

⁴ —— *lightly* —] Commonly, in ordinary course. JOHNSON.

So, in the old proverb: "There's lightning *lightly* before thunder." See Ray's *Proverbs*, p. 130, edit. 3d.

Again, in *Penny-wise and Pound-foolish*, &c. —— "Misfortunes

Enter YORK, HASTINGS, and the Cardinal.

BUCK. Now, in good time, here comes the duke of York.

PRINCE. Richard of York! how fares our loving brother?

YORK. Well, my dread lord;⁵ so must I call you now.

PRINCE. Ay, brother; to our grief, as it is yours: Too late he died,⁶ that might have kept that title, Which by his death hath lost much majesty.

GLO. How fares our cousin, noble lord of York?

YORK. I thank you gentle uncle. O, my lord, You said, that idle weeds are fast in growth: The prince my brother hath outgrown me far.

GLO. He hath, my lord.

seldome walke alone; and so when blessings doe knocke at a man's dore, they *lightly* are not without followers and fellowes."

Again, *Holinshed*, p. 725, concerning one of King Edward's concubines: "—— one whom no one could get out of the church *lightly* to any place, but it were to his bed."

Again, in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*:

"He is not *lightly* within to his mercer." STEEVENS.

Short summers lightly have a forward spring.] That is, short summers are usually preceded by a forward spring; or in other words, and more appositely to Gloster's latent meaning, a premature spring is usually followed by a short summer. MALONE.

⁵ —— *dread lord*;] The original of this epithet applied to kings has been much disputed. In some of our old statutes, the king is called *Rex metuendissimus*. JOHNSON.

⁶ *Too late he died*,] i. e. too lately, the loss is too fresh in our memory. WARBURTON.

So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

"—— I did give that life,

"Which she too early, and too late hath spill'd."

YORK. And therefore is he idle?

GLO. O, my fair cousin, I must not say so.

YORK. Then is he more beholden to you, than I.

GLO. He may command me, as my sovereign;
But you have power in me, as in a kinsman.

YORK. I pray you, uncle, then, give me this
dagger.⁶

GLO. My dagger, little cousin? with all my heart.

PRINCE. A beggar brother?

YORK. Of my kind uncle, that I know will give;
And, being but a toy, which is no grief to give.⁷

GLO. A greater gift than that I'll give my cousin.

YORK. A greater gift! O, that's the sword to it?

Again, in *King Henry V*:

"The mercy that was quick in us but late," &c.

MALONE.

⁶ *I pray you, uncle, then, give me this dagger.*] Then was added
by Sir Thomas Hanmer for the sake of metre. STEEVENS.

⁷ *And, being but a toy, which is no grief to give.*] The reading
of the quartos is — *gift*. The first folio reads:

And, being but a toy, which is no grief to give.

This reading, made a little more metrical, has been followed,
I think erroneously, by all the editors. JOHNSON.

The quarto 1612 reads:

—— no grief — STEEVENS.

—— *which is no grief to give*] *Which to give*, or the gift of
which, induces no *regret*. Thus the authentick copies, the quarto,
1598, and the first folio. A quarto of no authority changed *grief*
to *gift*, and the editor of the second folio capriciously altered the
line thus:

And being a toy, it is no grief to give. MALONE.

In conformity to our old elliptical mode of speaking and writing,
the words — *which is*, might be omitted. They hurt the measure,
without advancement of the sense. Perhaps, however, the correc-
tion in the second folio (which was received by Sir Thomas Han-
mer) is preferable. STEEVENS.

GLO. Ay, gentle cousin, were it light enough.

YORK. O then, I see, you'll part but with light gifts;

In weightier things you'll say a beggar, nay.

GLO. It is too weighty for your grace to wear.

YORK. I weigh it lightly,⁸ were it heavier.

GLO. What, would you have my weapon, little lord?

YORK. I would, that I might thank you as you call me.

GLO. How?

YORK. Little.

PRINCE. My lord of York will still be cross in talk:—

Uncle, your grace knows how to bear with him.

YORK. You mean, to bear me, not to bear with me:—

Uncle, my brother mocks both you and me;

Because that I am little, like an ape,⁹

He thinks that you should bear me on your shoulders.

⁸ *I weigh it lightly, &c.*] i. e. I should still esteem it but a trifling gift, were it heavier. But the Oxford editor reads:

I'd weigh it lightly,—

i. e. I could manage it, though it were heavier. WARBURTON.

Dr. Warburton is right. So, in *Love's, Labour's, Lost*, A & V. sc. ii:

“ You weigh me not,— O that's you care not for me.”

STEEVENS.

⁹ *Because that I am little, like an ape,*] The reproach seems to consist in this: at country shows it was common to set the monkey on the back of some other animal, as a bear. The duke therefore in calling himself *ape*, calls his uncle *bear*. JOHNSON.

To this custom there seems to be an allusion in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Gypsies*:

BUCK. With what a sharp-provided wit he reasons!

To mitigate the scorn he gives his uncle,
He prettily and aptly taunts himself:
So cunning, and so young, is wonderful.

GLO. My gracious lord,⁹ will't please you pass along?

Myself, and my good cousin Buckingham,
Will to your mother; to entreat of her,
To meet you at the Tower, and welcome you.

YORK. What, will you go unto the Tower, my lord?

PRINCE. My lord protector needs will have it so.

YORK. I shall not sleep in quiet at the Tower.

GLO. Why, sir, what should you fear?²

“ A gypsy in his shape,
“ More calls the beholder,
“ Than *the fellow with the ape*,
“ Or *the ape on his shoulder*.”

Again, in *The first Part of the Eighth liberall Sciences, entituled Ars Adulandi &c.* devised and compiled by Ulpian Fulwel, 1576:

“ — thou hast an excellent *back* to carry my lord's *ape*.”

See likewise Hogarth's *Humour of an Election*, plate IV.

York also alludes to the protuberance on Gloster's back, which was commodious for carrying burdens, as it supplied the place of a porter's knot. STEEVENS.

I do not believe that the reproach is what Johnson supposes, or that York meant to call his uncle a bear. He merely alludes to Richard's deformity, his high shoulder, or hump-back, as it is called. That was *the scorn* he meant to give his uncle. In the third act of the Third Part of *King Henry VI.* the same thought occurs to Richard himself, where describing his own figure, he says,

“ To make an envious mountain on my back,
“ Where fits deformity, to mock my body. M. MASON.

⁹ My gracious lord,] For the insertion of the word *gracious*, I am answerable. Gloster has already used the same address. The defect of the metre shows that a word was omitted at the press.

MALONE.

² Why, sir, &c.] The word — *sir*, was added by Sir Thomas Hanmer. Without it this half line is harsh, and quite unmetrical.

STEEVENS.

YORK. Marry, my uncle Clarence' angry ghost;
My grandam told me, he was murder'd there.

PRINCE. I fear no uncles dead.

GLO. Nor none that live, I hope.

PRINCE. An if they live, I hope, I need not fear.
But come, my lord, and, with a heavy heart,
Thinking on them, go I unto the Tower.

[*Exeunt Prince, YORK, HASTINGS, Cardinal,
and Attendants.*

BUCK. Think you, my lord, this little prating
York

Was not incensed by his subtle mother,³
To taunt and scorn you thus opprobriously?

GLO. No doubt, no doubt: O, 'tis a parlous boy;
Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable;⁴
He's all the mother's, from the top to toe.

BUCK. Well, let them rest. —
Come hither, gentle Catesby;⁵ thou art sworn
As deeply to effect what we intend,

³ *Was not incensed by his subtle mother,*] *Incensed* means here, *incited* or *suggested*. So, in *King Henry VIII.* Gardiner says of Cranmer,

“ — I have

“ *Incens'd* the lords of the council, that he is

“ A most arch heretick. ”

And in *Much ado about nothing*, Borachio says to Pedro, “ — how Don John your brother *incensed* me to slander the lady Hero.”

M. MASON.

⁴ — *capable*;] here, as in many other places in these plays, means intelligent, quick of apprehension. See p. 326, u. 8.

MALONE.

So again, in *Troilus and Cressida*: “ Let me carry another to his horse, for that's the more *capable* creature. ” RITSON.

⁵ — gentle *Catesby*;] I supplied the epithet — *gentle*, for the same reasons urged by Mr. Malone in the foregoing page, n. 2. in defence of a similar insertion. STEEVENS.

As closely to conceal what we impart :
 Thou know'st our reasons urg'd upon the way ; —
 What think'st thou ? is it not an easy matter
 To make William lord Hastings of our mind,
 For the instalment of this noble duke
 In the seat royal of this famous isle ?

CATE. He for his father's sake so loves the
 prince,
 That he will not be won to aught against him.

BUCK. What think'st thou then of Stanley ? will
 not he ?

CATE. He will do all in all as Hastings doth.

BUCK. Well then, no more but this : Go, gentle
 Catesby,

And, as it were far off, sound thou lord Hastings,
 How he doth stand affected to our purpose ;
 And summon him to-morrow to the Tower,
 To sit about the coronation.

If thou dost find him tractable to us,
 Encourage him, and tell him all our reasons :
 If he be leaden, icy, cold, unwilling,
 Be thou so too ; and so break off the talk,
 And give us notice of his inclination ;
 For we to-morrow hold divided councils,⁵
 Wherein thyself shalt highly be employ'd.

⁵ ——— divided councils,] That is, a *private consultation*, *separate*
 from the known and publick council. So, in the next scene,
 Hastings says :

“ Bid him not fear the *separated* councils.” JOHNSON.

This circumstance is conformable to history. *Hall*, p. 13, says
 “ When the protector had both the children in his possession, yea,
 and that they were in a sure place, he then began to threat to se the
 ende of his enterprife. And, to avoyde all suspicion, he caused all
 the lords which he knewe to bee faithfull to the kynge, to assemble
 at Baynardes Castle, to comen of the ordre of the coronacion,

GLO. Commend me to lord William: tell him,
Catesby,

His ancient knot of dangerous adversaries
To-morrow are let blood at Pomfret-castle;
And bid my friend, for joy of this good news,
Give mistress Shore one gentle kiss the more.

BUCK. Good Catesby, go, effect this business
soundly.

CATE. My good lords both, with all the heed I
can.

GLO. Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we
sleep?

CATE. You shall, my lord.

GLO. At Crosby-place, there shall you find us
both. [Exit CATESBY.]

BUCK. Now, my lord, what shall we do, if we
perceive

Lord Hastings will not yield to our complots?

GLO. Chop off his head, man; — somewhat we
will do: ⁶ —

whyle he and other of his complices, and of his affinitee, at Cros-
bies place, contrived the contrary, and to make the protectour
kyng: to which counsaill there were adhibite very fewe, and they
very secrete." REED.

Mr. Reed has shewn from Hall's Chronicle that this circumstance
is founded on the historical fact. But Holinshed, Hall's copyist,
was our author's authority: "But the protectoure and the duke
after that they had sent to the lord Cardinal, — the lord Stanley and
the lord Hastings then lord Chamberlaine, with many other noble-
men, to commune and devise about the coronation in one place, as
fast were they in another place, contriving the contrarie, and to
make the protectour king." " — the lord Stanley, that was after
earle of Darby, wisely mistrusted it, and sayde unto the lorde
Hastings, that he much mislyked these two several counsels."

MALONE.

[— will do:] The folio reads — will determine. STEEVENS.

And, look, when I am king, claim thou of me
The earldom of Hereford, and all the moveables
Whereof the king my brother was possess'd.

BUCK. I'll claim that promise at your grace's
hand.

GLO. And look to have it yielded with all kind-
ness.

Come, let us sup betimes; that afterwards
We may digest our complots in some form.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.⁶

Before Lord Hastings' House.

Enter a Messenger.

MES. My lord, my lord, — [knocking.]

HAST. [within.] Who knocks?

MES. One from lord Stanley.

HAST. [within.] What is't o'clock?

MES. Upon the stroke of four.

Enter HASTINGS.

HAST. Cannot thy master sleep the tedious nights?

MES. So it should seem by that I have to say.

First, he commends him to your noble lordship.

HAST. And then, —

⁶ Scene II.] Every material circumstance in the following scene is taken from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, except that it is a knight with whom Hastings converses, instead of Buckingham. STEEVENS.

MES. And then he sends you word, he dreamt
To-night the boar had rased off his helm:⁷
Besides, he says, there are two councils held;
And that may be determin'd at the one,
Which may make you and him to rue at the other.
Therefore he sends to know your lordship's pleasure,—

If presently you will take horse with him,
And with all speed post with him toward the north,
To shun the danger that his foul divines.

HAST. Go, fellow, go, return unto thy lord;
Bid him not fear the separated councils:
His honour⁸ and myself, are at the one;
And, at the other, is my good friend Catesby;⁹

⁷ ——— *the boar had rased off his helm:*] This term *raised* or *rasped*, is always given to describe the violence inflicted by a *boar*.
So, in *King Lear*, 4to. edit.

“In his anointed flesh *rash* boarish fangs.”

Again, in Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, B. VII. ch. xxxvi:

“—— ha, cur, avaunt, the bore so *rase* thy hide!”

By the *boar*, throughout this scene, is meant Gloster, who was called the *boar*, or the *hog*, from his having a *boar* for his cognizance, and one of the supporters of his coat of arms. STEEVENS.

So Holinshed, after Hall and Sir Thomas More: “The selfe night next before his death the lorde Stanley sent a trustie secret messenger unto him at midnight in all haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterlie no longer to byde, he had so fearful a dreame, in which him thought that a *boare* with his tuskes so *raised* them both by the heades that the bloud ran about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the Protector gave the boare for his cognizance, this dreame made so fearful an impressiō in his heart, that he was thoroughly determined no longer to tarie, but had his horse readie, if the lorde Hastings would go with him,” &c. MALONE.

⁸ *His honour,*] This was the usual address to noblemen in Shakspeare's time. MALONE.

See note on *Timon of Athens*, Act. I. sc. i. where the same address occurs: “All happiness to your honour!” STEEVENS.

⁹ *And, at the other, is my good friend Catesby; &c.*] So, in the *Legend of Lord Hastings, Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1575:

Where nothing can proceed, that toucheth us,
Whereof I shall not have intelligence.

Tell him, his fears are shallow, wanting instance:¹

And for his dreams—I wonder, he's so fond²

To trust the mockery of unquiet slumbers:

To fly the boar, before the boar pursues,

Were to incense the boar to follow us,

And make pursuit, where he did mean no chase.

Go, bid thy master rise and come to me;

And we will both together to the Tower,

Where, he shall see, the boar will use us kindly.

MES. I'll go my lord, and tell him what you say.

[Exit,

Enter CASTESBY.

CATE. Many good morrows to my noble lord!

HAST. Good morrow, Catesby: you are early
flirring:

What news, what news, in this our tottering state?

"I fear'd the end; my Catesby being there

"Discharg'd all doubts; him hold I most entyre."

MALONE.

¹ ——— *wanting instance:*] That is, *wanting* some *example* or *act* of *malevolence*, by which they may be justified; or which, perhaps, is nearer to the true meaning, wanting any *immediate* ground or reason. JOHNSON.

This is the reading of the quarto, except that it has—*instancie*.

MALONE.

The folio reads—*without instance*. STEEVENS.

Instance seems to mean, *symptom* or *prognostick*. We find the word used in a similar sense, in *The Comedie of Errors*, where Egeon, describing his shipwreck, says,

"A league from Epidamnus had we sail'd,

"Before the always wind-obeying deep

"Gave any tragic *instance* of our harm." M. MASON.

² ——— *so fond* —] i. e. so weak, silly. Thus, in *King Lear*:

"I am a very foolish, *fond* old man." STEEVENS.

CATE. It is a reeling world, indeed, my lord ;
And, I believe, will never stand upright,
Till Richard wear the garland of the realm.

HAST. How ! wear the garland ? dost thou mean
the crown ?

CATE. Ay, my good lord.

HAST. I'll have this crown of mine cut from my
shoulders,
Before I'll see the crown so foul misplac'd.
But canst thou guess that he doth aim at it ?

CATE. Ay, on my life ; and hopes to find you
forward

Upon his party, for the gain thereof :
And, thereupon, he sends you this good news,—
That, this same very day, your enemies,
The kindred of the queen, must die at Pomfret.

HAST. Indeed, I am no mourner for that news,
Because they have been still my adversaries :
But, that I'll give my voice on Richard's side,
To bar my master's heirs in true descent,
God knows, I will not do it, to the death.

CATE. God keep your lordship in that gracious
mind !

HAST. But I shall laugh at this a twelve-month
hence,—

That they, who brought me in my master's hate,
I live to look upon their tragedy.

Well, Catesby, ere a fortnight make me older,
I'll send some packing, that yet think not on't.

CATE. 'Tis a vile thing to die, my gracious lord,
When men are unprepar'd, and look not for it.

HAST. O monstrous, monstrous ! and so falls it
out

With Rivers, Vaughan, Grey : and so 'twill do
With some men else, who think themselves as safe

As thou, and I; who, as thou know'st, are dear
To princely Richard, and to Buckingham.

CATE. The princes both make high account of
you,—

For they account his head upon the bridge. [*Aside.*

HAST. I know, they do; and I have well deserv'd it.

Enter STANLEY.

Come on, come on, where is your boar-spear, man?
Fear you the boar, and go so unprovided?

STAN. My lord, good morrow; and good mor-
row,⁸ Catesby:—

You may jest on, but by the holy rood,⁹

I do not like these several councils,² I.

HAST. My lord, I hold my life as dear as yours;³
And never, in my life, I do protest,

Was it more precious to me than 'tis now:

Think you, but that I know our state secure,

I would be so triumphant as I am?

STAN. The lords at Pomfret, when they rode
from London,

⁸ ——— and *good morrow*,] *And* was supplied by Sir T. Hanmer, to assist the measure. STEEVENS.

⁹ ——— the *holy rood*,] i. e. the cross. So, in the old mystery of *Candlemas-Day*, 1512:

“Whan hir swete sone shall on a *rood* deye.”

Again, in *Spencer's Faery Queen* B. VI. c. v:

“And nigh thereto a little chapell floode

“Which being all with yvy overspred,

“Deck'd all the roofe, and shadowing the *roode*,

“Seem'd like a grove fair branched overhed.” STEEVENS.

² *I do not like these several councils*,] See p. 358, n. 5. MALONE.

³ *My lord, I hold my life as dear as yours*;] Thus the first folio. The quartos—(profoundly ignorant of our author's elliptical mode of expressing himself, and in contempt of metre,)

—— as dear as you do yours. STEEVENS.

Were jocund, and suppos'd their states were sure,
And they, indeed, had no cause to mistrust;
But yet, you see, how soon the day o'er-cast,
This sudden stab of rancour I misdoubt;⁴
Pray God, I say, I prove a needles coward!
What, shall we toward the Tower? the day is spent.

HAST. Come, come, have with you.⁵ — Wot you
what, my lord?

To-day the lords you talk of are beheaded.

STAN. They, for their truth,⁶ might better wear
their heads,

Than some, that have accus'd them, wear their hats.
But come, my lord, let's away.

⁴ — I misdoubt;] i. e. suspect it of danger. So, in *King Henry VI.* P. III:

“ — the bird —

“ With trembling wings *misdoubteth* every bush.”

STEEVENS.

⁵ — *have with you.*] A familiar phrase in parting, as much as, *take something along with you, or I have something to say to you.*

JOHNSON.

This phrase so frequently occurs in Shakspeare, that I wonder Johnson should, in his tenth volume, mistake its meaning. It signifies merely “I will go along with you;” and is an expression in use at this day.

In the first part of *Henry VI.* when Suffolk is going out, Somerset says—“*Have with you;*” and then follows him. In *Othello*, Iago says,

“ Captain, will you go?”

OTHELLO. “*Have with you.*”

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Mrs. Ford says,

“ Will you go, Mrs. Page?”

To which she replies,

“ *Have with you.*”

And in the same scene, the Host afterwards says,

“ Here, boys, shall we wag?”

To which the Page replies,—“*Have with you.*” M. MASON.

⁶ *They, for their truth,*] That is, with respect to their honesty.

JOHNSON.

Enter a Pursuivant.

HAST. Go on before, I'll talk with this good fellow. [*Exeunt STANLEY and CATESBY.*
How now, firrah? how goes the world with thee?

PURS. The better, that your lordship please to ask.

HAST. I tell thee, man, 'tis better with me now, Than when thou met'st me last where now we meet: Then was I going prisoner to the Tower, By the suggestion of the queen's allies; But now, I tell thee, (keep it to thyself,) This day those enemies are put to death, And I in better state than ere I was.

PURS. God hold it,⁵ to your honour's good content!

HAST. Gramercy, fellow: There, drink that for me. [*Throwing him his purse.*

PURS. I thank your honour. [*Exit PURSUIVANT.*

Enter a Priest.

PR. Well met, my lord; I am glad to see your honour.

HAST. I thank thee, good fir John,⁶ with all my heart.

I am in your debt for your last exercise;⁷
Come the next sabbath, and I will content you.

⁵ ——— *hold it,*] That is, *continue* it. JOHNSON.

⁶ ——— *good fir John,*] *Sir* was formerly the usual address to the inferior clergy. See Vol. V. p. 7, n. 2. MALONE.

⁷ ——— *exercise;*] Performance of divine service. JOHNSON.

I rather imagine it meant—for attending him in private to hear his confession. So, in sc. vii:

“To draw him from his holy *exercise*.” MALONE.

Enter BUCKINGHAM.⁸

BUCK. What, talking with a priest, lord chamberlain?

Your friends at Pomfret, they do need the priest;
Your honour hath no shriving work in hand.⁹

HAST. 'Good faith, and when I met this holy man,
The men you talk of came into my mind.
What, go you toward the Tower?

BUCK. I do, my lord; but long I cannot stay
there:
I shall return before your lordship thence.

Exercise, I believe, means only religious exhortation, or lecture.
So, in *Othello*:

"Much castigation, *exercise* devout." STEEVENS.

⁸ *Enter* Buckingham.] From the continuation of Harding's Chronicle, 1543, where the account given originally by sir Thomas More is transcribed with some additions, it appears that the person who held this conversation with Hastings was sir Thomas Howard, who is introduced in the last act of this play as earl of Surrey:

"The same morning ere he [Hastings] were up from his bed, where Shore's wife lay with him all night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward, (Howard) sonne to the lord Haward,—as it were of courtesaie, to accompaignie him to the counsaill; but forasmuche as the lord Hastings was not ready, he taried a while for him, and hasted him away. This sir Thomas, while the lord Hastings stayed a while commonyng with a priest whom he met in the Tower strete, brake the lordes tale, saying to him merily, 'What, my lorde, I pray you come on; wherefore talke you so long with the priest? You have no nede of a priest yet: and laughed upon him, as though he would saye, you shall have neade of one sone.'" Fol. 59. MALONE.

⁹ — shriving work in hand.] *Shriving work is confession.*

JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*:

"——the bearers put to sudden death,

"Not shriving time allow'd." STEEVENS.

HAST. Nay, like enough, for I stay dinner there.

BUCK. And supper too, although thou know'st
it not. [Aside.

Come, will you go?

HAST.

I'll wait upon your lordship.

[Exeunt.

S C E N E III.

Pomfret. *Before the Castle.*

*Enter RATCLIFF, with a guard, conducting RIVERS,
GREY,⁹ and VAUGHAN to execution.*

RAT. Come, bring forth the prisoners.²

RIV. Sir Richard Ratcliff, let me tell thee this,—
To-day shalt thou behold a subject die,
For truth, for duty, and for loyalty.

GREY. God keep the prince from all the pack of
you!

A knot you are of damned blood-suckers.

VAUGH. You live, that shall cry woe for this
hereafter.

⁹— Grey,] Queen Elizabeth Grey is deservedly pitied for losing her two sons; but the royalty of their birth has so engrossed the attention of historians, that they never reckon into the number of her misfortunes the murder of this her second son, Sir Richard Grey. It is as remarkable how slightly the death of our Earl Rivers is always mentioned, though a man invested with such high offices of trust and dignity; and how much we dwell on the execution of the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, a man in every light his inferior. In truth, the generality draw their ideas of English story, from the tragic rather than the historic authors. WALPOLE.

² Come, bring forth the prisoners.] This speech is wanting in the folio, and might (as it has neither use, nor pretensions to metre,) be as well omitted as retained. STEEVENS.

RAT. Despatch! the limit³ of your lives is out.

RIV. O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison,

Fatal and ominous to noble peers!

Within the guilty closure of thy walls,

Richard the second here was hack'd to death:

And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,

We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink.

GREY. Now Margaret's curse is fallen upon our heads,

When she exclaim'd on Hastings, you, and I,

For standing by when Richard stabb'd her son.

RIV. Then curs'd she Hastings, then curs'd she Buckingham,

Then curs'd she Richard: — O, remember, God,

To hear her prayers for them, as now for us!

And for my sister, and her princely sons, —

Be satisfied, dear God, with our true bloods,

Which, as thou know'st, unjustly must be spilt!

RAT. Make haste, the hour of death is expiate.⁴

³ — the limit —] for the limited time. See Vol. XII. p. 175, n. 9. MALONE.

⁴ Make haste, the hour of death is expiate.] Thus the folio. The quarto furnishes a line that has occurred already:

Dispatch; the limit of your lives is out.

Expiate is used for *expiated*; so *confiscate*, *contaminate*, *consummate*, &c. &c. It seems to mean *fully completed*, and *ended*. Shakspeare has again used the word in the same sense in his 22d Sonnet.

“Then look I death my days should *expiate*.”

So, in *Lochrine*, 1595:

“Lives Sabren yet, to *expiate* my wrath.”

The editor of the second folio, who altered whatever he did not understand, reads arbitrarily,

“Dispatch; the hour of death is *now expir'd*.”

and he has been followed by all the modern editors. MALONE.

I do not well understand the reading which Mr. Malone prefers, though I have left it in the text. Perhaps we should read —

— the hour of death is *expire*;

RIV. Come, Grey, — come, Vaughan, — let us
here embrace :

Farewell, until we meet again in heaven. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

London. *A Room in the Tower.*

BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HASTINGS, *the Bishop of Ely,*² CATESBY, LOVEL, and others, *sitting at a table : Officers of the council attending.*

HAST. Now, noble peers, the cause why we are
met

Is — to determine of the coronation:

In God's name, speak, when is the royal day?

BUCK. Are all things ready for that royal time?

STAN. They are ; and wants but nomination.³

ELY. To-morrow then I judge a happy day.

which accords with Shakspeare's phraseology, and needs no explanation. Thus, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“ — and expire the term

“ Of a despised life —.” STEEVENS.

² — *Bishop of Ely,*] Dr. John Morton; who was elected to that see in 1478. He was advanced to the see of Canterbury in 1486, and appointed Lord Chancellor in 1487. He died in the year 1500. This prelate, Sir Thomas More tells us, first devised the scheme of putting an end to the long contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, by a marriage between Henry earl of Richmond, and Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. and was a principal agent in procuring Henry when abroad to enter into a covenant for that purpose. MALONE.

³ — and wants but nomination.] i. e. the only thing wanting, is the appointment of a particular day for the ceremony.

STEEVENS.

BUCK. Who knows the lord protector's mind herein?

Who is most inward⁴ with the noble duke?

ELY. Your grace, we think, should soonest know his mind.

BUCK. We know each other's faces: for our hearts, —

He knows no more of mine, than I of yours;

Nor I of his, my lord, than you of mine: —

Lord Hastings, you and he are near in love.

HAST. I thank his grace, I know he loves me well;

But, for his purpose in the coronation,

I have not founded him, nor he deliver'd

His gracious pleasure any way therein:

But you, my noble lord, may name the time;

And in the duke's behalf I'll give my voice,

Which, I presume, he'll take in gentle part.

Enter GLOSTER.

ELY. In happy time, here comes the duke himself.

GLO. My noble lords and cousins, all, good morrow:

I have been long a sleeper; but, I trust,

My absence doth neglect no great design,

Which by my presence might have been concluded.

BUCK. Had you not come upon your cue,⁵ my lord,

⁴ ——— inward ———] i. e. intimate, confidential. So, in *Measure for Measure*: "Sir, I am an inward of his." STEEVENS.

⁵ Had you not come upon your cue,] This expression is borrowed

William lord Hastings had pronounc'd your part,—
I mean, your voice, — for crowning of the king.

GLO. Than my lord Hastings, no-man might be
bolder;

His lordship knows me well, and loves me well. —
My lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries⁶ in your garden there;
I do beseech you, send for some of them.

ELY. Marry, and will, my lord, with all my heart.
[*Exit ELY.*

GLO. Cousin of Buckingham, a word with you.
[*Takes him aside.*

Catesby hath founded Hastings in our business;
And finds the testy gentleman so hot,
That he will lose his head, ere give consent,

from the theatre. The *cue*, *queue*, or *tail* of a speech, consists of
the last words, which are the token for an entrance or answer. To
come on the cue, therefore, is to come at the proper time. JOHNSON.

So, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Quince says to Flute—
“you speak all your part at once, *cues* and all.” STEEVENS.

⁶ *I saw good strawberries* —] The reason why the bishop was
despatched on this errand, is not clearer in Holinshed, from whom
Shakspeare adopted the circumstance, than in this scene, where it
is introduced. Nothing seems to have happened which might not have
been transacted with equal security in the presence of the reverend
cultivator of *these strawberries*, whose complaisance is likewise recorded
by the author of the Latin play on the same subject, in the British
Museum:

*Eliensis antistes venis? senem quies,
Juvenem labor decet: serunt hortum tuum
Decora fraga plurimum producere.*

EPISCOPUS ELIENSIS,

*Nil tibi claudetur hortus quod meus
Producit; esset lautius vellem mihi,
Quo sem tibi gratus.*

This circumstance of asking for the strawberries, however, may
have been mentioned by the historians merely to show the unusual
affability and good humour which the dissembling Gloster affected
at the very time when he had determined on the death of Hastings.

STEEVENS.

His master's child, as worshipfully he terms it,
Shall lose the royalty of England's throne.

BUCK. Withdraw yourself awhile, I'll go with
you.

[*Exeunt GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM.*]

STAN. We have not yet set down this day of
triumph.

To-morrow, in my judgement, is too sudden;
For I myself am not so well provided,
As else I would be, were the day prolong'd.

Re-enter Bishop of Ely.

ELY. Where is my lord protector? I have sent
For these strawberries.

HAST. His grace looks cheerfully and smooth
this morning;

There's some conceit or other likes him well,⁷
When he doth bid good morrow with such spirit.
I think, there's ne'er a man in Christendom,
Can lesser hide his love, or hate, than he;
For by his face straight shall you know his heart,—

STAN. What of his heart perceive you in his face,
By any likelihood⁸ he shew'd to-day?

⁷ *There's some conceit or other likes him well,*] *Conceit* is thought.
So, in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, 1609:

“Here is a thing, too young for such a place,

“Who, if it had *conceit*, would die.” MALONE.

Conceit, as used by Hastings, I believe signifies — *pleasant idea or fancy*. So Falstaff speaking of Poins — “He a good wit? — there is no more *conceit* in him, than is in a mallet.” STEEVENS.

⁸ — *likelihood* —] *Semblance*; appearance. JOHNSON.

So, in another of our author's plays:

— *poor likelihoods*, and modern seemings. STEEVENS.

Thus the quarto. The folio reads — *liveliness*. — MALONE.

HAST. Marry, that with no man here he is offended;
For, were he, he had shown it in his looks.

Re-enter GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM.

GLO. I pray you all, tell me what they deserve,⁹
That do conspire my death with devilish plots

⁹ *I pray you all, tell me what they deserve, &c.]* This story was originally told by Sir Thomas More, who wrote about thirty years after the time. His *History of King Richard III.* was inserted in Hall's Chronicle, from whence it was copied by Holinshed, who was Shakspeare's authority:

“ Between ten and eleven he returned into the chamber among them with a wonderful foure, angrie, countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lippes, and so sette him downe in his place.—Then when he had sitten still awhile, thus he began: What were they worthie to have that compasse and imagine the destruction of me, being so neere of blood unto the king, and protectour of his royal person and his realme?—Then the lord Chamberlaine, as he that for the love betweene them thought he might be boldest with him, answered and sayd, that they were worthie to be punished for hainous traytors, whatsoever they were; and all the other affirmed the same. That is, quoth he, yonder sorceresse, my brother's wife, and other with her, meaning the queene:—ye shall all see in what wise that sorceresse, and that other witch of her counsell, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcerie and witchcraft wasted my body. And therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon the left arme, where he shewed a werish withered arme and small, as it was never other.—No man but was there present, but well knew his arme was ever such since his birth. Naythelesse the lord Chamberlaine (which from the death of king Edward kept Shore's wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the king's life, saving, as it is saide, he that while forbare her of reverence toward the king, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend) answered and said, Certainly, my lord, *if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment.* What, quoth the protectour, thou servest me I wene with *ifs* and with *ands*: I tell thee they have so done; and that I will make good on thy bodie, traitour; and therewith, as in great anger, he clapped his fist upon the boord a great rap. At which token given, one cried, traizon, without the chamber.

Of damned witchcraft; and that have prevail'd
Upon my body with their hellish charms?

HAST. The tender love I bear your grace, my
lord,

Makes me most forward in this noble presence
To doom the offenders: Whoso'er they be,
I say, my lord, they have deserved death.

GLO. Then be your eyes the witness of their
evil,

Look how I am bewitch'd; behold, mine arm
Is, like a blasted sapling, wither'd up:

And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous witch,
Consorted with that harlot, strumpet Shore,
That by their witchcraft thus have marked me.

HAST. If they have done this deed, my noble
lord, —

GLO. If! ² thou protector of this damned strum-
pet,

Therewith a dore clapped, and in came there rushing men in har-
nesse, as many as the chamber might holde. And anone the pro-
tectour sayd to the lord Hastings, I arrest thee traitor. — Then were
they all quickly bestowed in diverse chambers, except the lord
Chamberlaine, whom the protectour bade *speede him and shrive him
apace, for by S. Paul, quoth he, I will not to dinner till I see thy head
off.* — So was he brought forth into the greene beside the chappell
within the Tower, and his head laid downe upon a long log
of timber, and there stricken off; and afterward his body with the
head enterred at Windsor, beside the body of king Edward."

M. D. i. e. *Maister John Dolman*, the author of the Legend of
Lord Hastings, in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1575, has thrown the
same circumstances into verse.

Morton, Bishop of Ely, was present at this council and from
him Sir Thomas More, who was born in 1480, is supposed to have
had his information. Polydore Virgil, who began his history in
1505, tells the story differently. MALONE.

² *If! &c.*] For this circumstance see *Holinshed*, *Hall*, and *The
Mirrour for Magistrates*. FARMER.

Talk'st thou to me of ifs? — Thou art a traitor: —
 Off with his head: — now, by Saint Paul I swear
 I will not dine until I see the same. —
 Lovel, and Catesby, look, that it be done ;³ —

³ *Lovel, and Catesby, look, that it be done;]* In former copies:
Lovel, and Ratcliff, look, that it be done.

The scene is here in the Tower; and lord Hastings was cut off on that very day, when Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan suffered at Pomfret. How then could Ratcliff be both in Yorkshire and the Tower? In the scene preceding this, we find him conducing those gentlemen to the block. In the old quarto, we find it, *Exeunt: Manet Catesby with Hastings*. And in the next scene, before the Tower walls, we find Lovel and Catesby come back from the execution, bringing the head of Hastings. THEOBALD.

Mr. Theobald should have added, that, in the old quarto, no names are mentioned in Richard's speech. He only says — “*some* see it done.” Nor, in that edition, does *Lovel* appear in the next scene; but only *Catesby*, bringing the head of Hastings. The confusion seems to have arisen, when it was thought necessary, that *Catesby* should be employed to fetch the mayor, who, in the quarto, is made to come without having been sent for. As some other person was then wanted to bring the head of Hastings, the poet, or the players, appointed *Lovel* and *Ratcliff* to that office, without reflecting that the latter was engaged in another service on the same day at Pomfret. TYRWHITT.

I have adopted the emendation, because in *one* scene at least it prevents the glaring impropriety mentioned by Mr. Theobald. But unfortunately, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed, this very impropriety is found in the next scene, where *Ratcliffe* is introduced, and where it cannot be corrected without taking greater liberties than perhaps are justifiable. For there, in consequence of the injudicious alteration made, I think, by the players, instead of — “Here comes the Mayor,” the reading of the quarto, we find in the folio —

Rich. But what, is *Catesby* gone?

Buck. He is, and see he brings the Mayor along.

Catesby being thus employed, he cannot bring in the head of Hastings; nor can that office be assigned to *Lovel* only; because *Gloster* in the folio mentions *two* persons:

Be patient, they are friends; *Ratcliff*, and *Lovel*.

MALONE,

The rest, that love me, rise, and follow me.⁴

[*Exeunt Council, with GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM.*

HAST. Woe, woe, for England! not a whit for me;

For I, too fond, might have prevented this:

Stanley did dream, the boar did rase his helm;

But I disdain'd it, and did scorn to fly.

Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,⁵

⁴ *The rest, that love me, rise, and follow me.*] So, in *The battle of Alcazar*, 1594:

"And they that love my honour, follow me." MALONE.

⁵ *Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble, &c.*] So, in *The Legend of Lord Hastings*, by M. D. 1563. [Master Dolman.]

"My palfrey, in the playnest paved streete,

"Thryse bow'd his boanes, thryse kneled on the flower,

"Thryse thonnd (as Balams affe) the dreaded tower."

To *stumble* was anciently esteem'd a bad omen. So, in *The Honest Lawyer*. "And just at the threshold Master Bromley *stumbled*. Signs! signs!"

The *houfings* of a horse, and sometimes a horse himself, were anciently denominated a *foot-cloth*. So, in Ben Jonson's play called *The Case is Altered*:

"I'll go on my *foot-cloth*, I'll turn gentleman."

Again, in *A fair Quarrel*, by Middleton, 1617:

"—— thou shalt have a physician,

"The best that gold can fetch upon his *foot-cloth*."

Again, in *Ram-Alley*, or *Merry Tricks*, 1610:

"—— nor shall I need to try

"Whether my well-greas'd tumbling *foot-cloth* nag

"Be able to out-run a well-breath'd catchpole."

STEEVENS.

Stanley did dream, the boar did rase his helm;—

Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,] So Holinshed, after Sir Thomas More: "A marvellous case is it to heare, either the warnings of that he should have voided, or the tokens of that he could not voide; for the selfe night next before his death the L. Stanley sent a trustie secret messenger unto him at midnight, in all the haste, &c. [See p. 361, n. 7.]—Certain it is also, that in riding towards the Tower the same morning in which he [Hastings] was beheaded, his horse twise or thrise *stumbled* with him, al-

And startled, when he look'd upon the Tower,
 As loath to bear me to the slaughter-house.
 O, now I want the priest that spake to me:
 I now repent I told the pursuivant,
 As too triumphing, how mine enemies,
 To-day at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd,
 And I myself secure in grace and favour.
 O, Margaret, Margaret, now thy heavy curse
 Is lighted on poor Hastings' wretched head.

CATE. Despatch, my lord, the duke would be at
 dinner ;

Make a short shrift, he longs to see your head.

HAST. O momentary grace of mortal men,
 Which we more hunt for than the grace of God!
 Who builds his hope in air of your fair looks,⁵
 Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast;
 Ready, with every nod, to tumble down
 Into the fatal bowels of the deep.

LOV. Come, come, despatch ; 'tis bootless to ex-
 claim.

HAST. O, bloody Richard!—miserable England!
 I prophecy the fearful'st time to thee,
 That ever wretched age hath look'd upon.—
 Come, lead me to the block,⁶ bear him my head;
 They smile at me, who shortly shall be dead.⁷

[*Exeunt.*]

most to the falling: which thing, albeit each man wot well daily
 happeneth to them to whome no such mischance is toward; yet hath
 it beene of an old rite and custome observed as a token oftentimes
 notablie foregoing some great misfortune." MALONE.

⁵ *Who builds &c.*] So, Horace:

Nescius auræ fallacis. JOHNSON.

⁶ *Come, lead me to the block,*] William lord Hastings was be-
 headed on the 13th of June, 1483. His eldest son by Catharine
 Neville, daughter of Richard Neville earl of Salisbury, and widow
 of William lord Bonville, was restored to his honours and estate
 by King Henry VII. in the first year of his reign.—The daughter

SCENE V.

The same. The Tower-walls.

*Enter GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM, in rusty armour, *
marvellous ill-favour'd.*

GLO. Come, cousin, canst thou quake, and change
thy colour.

Murder thy breath in middle of a word,—
And then again begin, and stop again,
As if thou wert distraught, and mad with terror?

BUCK. Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;
Speak, and look back, and pry on every side,
Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
Intending deep suspicion: ⁹ghastly looks
Are at my service, like enforced smiles;
And both are ready in their offices,
At any time, to grace my stratagems.
But what, is Catesby gone?

GLO. He is; and, see, he brings the mayor along.

of Lady Hastings by her first husband was married to the Marquis of Dorset, who appears in the present play. MALONE.

⁷ *They smile at me, who shortly shall be dead.*] i. e. those who now smile at me, shall be shortly dead themselves. MALONE.

⁸ — in rusty armour, &c.] Thus Holinshed: "The protector immediately after dinner, intending to set some colour upon the matter, sent in all haste for many substantial men out of the citie into the Tower; and at their coming, himsele with the duke of Buckingham, flood harnessed in old ill-faring briganders, such as no man should weene that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backs, except that some sudden necessitie had constrained them." STEEVENS.

⁹ *Intending deep suspicion:* i. e. pretending. So, in *Much ado about nothing*:

Intend a kind of zeal both to the Prince and Claudio."

"

STEEVENS.

See Vol. IX. p. 322. n. 5. MALONE.

Enter the Lord Mayor and CATESBY.

BUCK. Let me alone to entertain him.—Lord mayor,—

GLO. Look to the draw-bridge there.

BUCK. Hark, hark! a drum.¹

GLO. Catesby, o'erlook the walls.

BUCK. Lord mayor, the reason we have sent for you,—

GLO. Look back, defend thee, here are enemies.

BUCK. God and our innocence defend and guard us!

Enter LOVEL and RATCLIFF,² with HASTINGS'S head.

GLO. Be patient, they are friends; Ratcliff, and Lovel.

LOV. Here is the head of that ignoble traitor,
The dangerous and unsuspected Hastings.

GLO. So dear I lov'd the man, that I must weep.
I took him for the plainest harmless't creature,³
That breath'd upon the earth a christian;⁴

¹ *Hark, hark! a drum.*] I have repeated the interjection—*hark*, for the sake of metre. STEEVENS.

² *Enter Lovel and Ratcliff,*] The quarto has—"Enter *Catesby*, with Hastings' head," and Gloster, on his entry, says—"O, O, be quiet, it is Catesby." For this absurd alteration, by which Ratcliffe is represented at Pomfret and in London at the same time, I have no doubt that the player-editors are answerable. MALONE.

³ ——— *harmless't creature,*] The old copies read *harmless*; but grammar requires *harmless't*, (i. e. *harmleffest*) a common contraction, as I am assured, both in Leicestershire and Warwickshire. So afterwards, p. 381, we have *covert'st* for *covertest*. STEEVENS.

⁴ ——— *the earth a christian;*] Here the quarto adds:
Look you, my lord mayor.

Made him my book, wherein my soul recorded
 The history of all her secret thoughts:
 So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue,
 That, his apparent open guilt omitted,—
 I mean, his conversation⁵ with Shore's wife, —
 He liv'd from all attainder of suspect.

BUCK. Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd
 traitor

That ever liv'd.—Look you, my lord mayor,
 Would you imagine, or almost believe,
 (Were't not, that by great preservation
 We live to tell it you.) the subtle traitor
 This day had plotted, in the council-house,
 To murder me, and my good lord of Gloster?

MAY. What! had he so?

GLO. What! think you we are Turks, or infi
 dels?

Or that we would, against the form of law,
 Proceed thus rashly in the villain's death;
 But that the extreme peril of the case,
 The peace of England, and our persons' safety,
 Enforc'd us to this execution?

MAY. Now, fair befall you! he deserv'd his death;
 And your good graces both have well proceeded,
 To warn false traitors from the like attempts,
 I never look'd for better at his hands,
 After he once fell in with mistress Shore.

This hemistich I have inserted in the following speech of Buck-
 ingham, to which I believe it originally belonged; as without it
 we meet with an imperfect verse.

Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd traitor
 That ever liv'd.

Would you imagine, &c.

I have since observed, that Mr. Capell has the same transposition.

STEEVENS.

⁵ ——— his conversation ———] i. e. familiar intercourse. The
 phrase—criminal conversation, is yet in daily use. MALONE.

BUCK. Yet had we not determin'd he should die,
 Until your lordship came to see his end;
 Which now the loving haste of these our friends,
 Somewhat against our meaning, hath prevented:
 Because, my lord, we would have had you heard
 The traitor speak, and timorously confess
 The manner and the purpose of his treasons;
 That you might well have signify'd the same
 Unto the citizens, who, haply, may
 Misconstrue us in him, and wail his death.

MAY. But, my good lord, your grace's word shall
 serve,

As well as I had seen, and heard him speak:
 And do not doubt, right noble princes both,
 But I'll acquaint our duteous citizens
 With all your just proceedings in this case.

GLO. And to that end we wish'd your lordship
 here,

To avoid the censures of the carping world.

BUCK. But since you came too late of our intent,⁶
 Yet witness what you hear we did intend:
 And so, my good lord mayor, we bid farewell.

[Exit Lord Mayor.]

GLO. Go, after, after, cousin Buckingham.
 The mayor towards Guildhall hies him in all post:—
 There, at your meetest vantage of the time,
 Infer the bastardy of Edward's children:
 Tell them, how Edward put to death a citizen,⁷
 Only for saying—he would make his son

⁶ *But since you came too late of our intent,*] Perhaps we should read—"too late for our intent." M. MASON.

The old reading I suppose to be the true one. We still say "to come short of a thing," and why not "come late of an intent?"

STEEVENS.

⁷ ——— *put to death a citizen,*] This person was one Walker, a substantial citizen and grocer at the Crown in Cheap-side. GREY.

Heir to the crown; meaning, indeed, his house,
 Which, by the sign thereof, was termed so.
 Moreover, urge his hateful luxury,
 And bestial appetite in change of lust;
 Which stretch'd unto their servants, daughters,
 wives,
 Even where his raging eye, or savage heart,
 Without control, list'd⁸ to make his prey.
 Nay, for a need, thus far come near my person:—
 Tell them,⁹ when that my mother went with child
 Of that insatiate Edward, noble York,
 My princely father, then had wars in France;
 And, by just computation of the time,
 Found, that the issue was not his begot:
 Which well appeared in his lineaments,
 Being nothing like the noble duke my father:
 Yet touch this sparingly, as 'twere far off;
 Because, my lord, you know, my mother lives.

BUCK. Doubt not, my lord; I'll play the orator,
 As if the golden fee, for which I plead,
 Were for myself: and so, my lord, adieu.

GLO. If you thrive well, bring them to Baynard's
 castle;²

⁸ — his raging eye,—list'd—] The former is the reading of the folio, the latter of the quarto. The quarto has—*lustful eye*, and the folio—*lusted* instead of *list'd*. Modern editors, without authority—*ranging eye*. STEEVENS.

⁹ *Tell them, &c.*] Whatever reason W. Wyrcester might have for being so very particular, he expressly tells us that Edward was conceived in the chamber next to the chapel of the palace of Hatfield. York was regent of France at that time, and had come over, it would seem, to visit his lady. RITSON.

² — to Baynard's Castle;] It was originally built by Baynard, a nobleman who (according to Stowe's account) came in with the conqueror.

This edifice which stood in Thames Street, has long been pulled down, though parts of its strong foundations are still visible at low water. The site of it is now a timber-yard. STEEVENS.

Where you shall find me well accompanied,
With reverend fathers, and well-learned bishops.

BUCK. I go; and, towards three or four o'clock,
Look for the news that the Guild-hall affords.

[Exit BUCKINGHAM.]

GLO. Go, Lovel, with all speed to doctor Shaw,³—
Go thou [to CAT.] to friar Penker;⁴—bid them
both

Meet me, within this hour, at Baynard's castle.

[Exeunt LOVEL and CATESBY.]

Now will I in, to take some privy order
To draw the brats of Clarence⁵ out of fight;

³ — to doctor Shaw,—] This and the two following lines are not in the quarto. Shaw and Penker were two popular preachers.— Instead of a pamphlet being published by the Secretary of the Treasury, to furnish the advocates for the administration of the day, with plausible topics of argument on great political measures, (the established mode of the present time) formerly it was customary to publish the court creed from the pulpit at Saint Paul's Cross. As Richard now employed doctor Shaw to support his claim to the crown, so, about fifteen years before, the great earl of Warwick employed his chaplain doctor Goddard to convince the people that Henry VI. ought to be restored, and that Edward IV. was an usurper. MALONE.

⁴ This *Pinker* or *Penker* was provincial of the *Augustine* friars. See *Speed*. STEEVENS.

⁵ — the brats of Clarence—] Edward earl of Warwick, who the day after the battle of Bosworth, was sent by Richmond from Sherifhutton Castle (where Gloster had confined him) to the Tower, without even the shadow of an allegation against him, and executed with equal injustice on Tower-hill on the 21st of November, 1499; and Margaret, afterwards married to Sir Richard de la Pole, the last princess of the house of Lancaster; who was created by King Henry VIII. countess of Salisbury, and in the 31st year of his reign, (1540) at the age of seventy, was put to death by the sanguinary king then on the throne, as her unfortunate and innocent brother had before fallen a victim to the jealous policy of that crafty tyrant Henry VII.

The immediate cause of his being put to death was, that Ferdinand king of Spain was unwilling to consent to the marriage of his daughter Katharine to Arthur prince of Wales, while the earl of

And to give notice, that no manner of person⁶
Have, any time, recourse unto the princes.

Exeunt.

SCENE VI.

A Street.

Enter a Scrivener.

SCRIV. Here is the indictment of the good lord
Hastings;
Which in a set hand fairly is engross'd,
That it may be to-day read o'er in Paul's.⁷
And mark how well the sequel hangs together:—

Warwick lived, there being during his life-time (as Ferdinand conceived) no assurance of the prince's succession to the crown.

The murder of the earl of Warwick (for it deserves no other name) made such an impression on Katharine, that when she was first informed of Henry the Eighth's intention to repudiate her, she exclaimed, "I have not offended, but it is a just judgment of GOD, for my former marriage was made in blood." MALONE.

⁶ — no manner of person —] The folio reads — no manner person, which is nonsense. I suppose the true reading is — no man, or person; as in the latter term females are included. STEEVENS.

⁷ — read o'er in Paul's.] The substance of this speech is from Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 16. "Nowe was thys proclamation made within twoo houres after he was beheaded, and it was so curiously endyted, and so fayre writen in parchement, in a fayre sette hande, and therewith of it selfe so long a proceffe, that every chyld might perceyve that it was prepared and studyed before, (and as some men thought, by Catesby) for all the time betwene his death and the proclamacion — coulde scant have sufficed unto the bare writyng alone, albeit that it had bene in paper and scribeled furthe in hatte at adventure. — And a marchaunte that stood by — sayed that it was wrytten by inspyracyon and prophesye."

Mr. Malone adds — "So Holinshed, after Sir Thomas More;" and then repeats the same quotation. STEEVENS.

Eleven hours I have spent to write it over,
 For yesternight by Catesby was it sent me;
 The precedent⁸ was full as long a doing:
 And yet within these five hours Hastings liv'd,
 Untainted, unexamin'd, free, at liberty.
 Here's a good world the while! — Who is so gross,
 That cannot see this palpable device?
 Yet who so bold, but says — he sees it not?
 Bad is the world; and all will come to nought,
 When such bad dealing must be seen in thought.⁹
 [Exit.]

S C E N E VII.

The same. Court of Baynard's Castle.²

Enter GLOSTER, and BUCKINGHAM, meeting.

GLO. How now, how now? what say the citizens?

BUCK. Now by the holy mother of our Lord,
 The citizens are mum, say not a word.

GLO. Touch'd you the bastardy of Edward's children?

BUCK. I did; with his contract with Lady Lucy,³

⁸ *The precedent* —] The original draft from which the engrossment was made. MALONE.

⁹ — — *seen in thought.*] That is, seen in silence, without notice or detection. JOHNSON.

² *Baynard's Castle.*] A castle in Thames-street, which had belonged to Richard duke of York, and at this time was the property of his grandson King Edward V. MALONE.

³ — — *with his contract with lady Lucy,*] The king had been familiar with this lady before his marriage, to obstruct which his mother alledged a precontract between them: "Whereupon, says the historian, dame Elizabeth Lucye was sente for, and albeit she

And his contr  ct by deputy in France:
 The insatiate greediness of his desires,
 And his enforcement of the city wives;
 His tyranny for trifles; his own bastardy, —
 As being got, your father then in France;⁴

was by the kyng hys mother, and many other, put in good comfort to affirme that she was assured to the kynge, yet when she was solempnly sworne to say y^e truth, she confessed she was never ensured. Howbeit, she sayd his grace spake suche loving wordes to her, that she verily hoped that he would have married her; and that yf such kynde woordes had not bene, she woulde never have shewed such kindnesse to him to lette hym so kyndely gette her wyth chylde." *Hall*, Edward V. fo. 19. RITSON.

This objection to king Edward's marriage with lady Grey, is said by Sir Thomas More to have been made by the dutchess dowager of York, Edward's mother, who was averse to the match, before he espoused that lady. But Elizabeth Lucy, the daughter of one Wyat, and the wife of one Lucy, being sworn to speak the truth, declared that the king had not been affianced to her, though she owned she had been his concubine. Philip de Comines, a contemporary historian, says that Edward, previous to his marriage with lady Grey, was married to an English lady by the bishop of Bath, who revealed the secret; and according to the Chronicle of Croyland this lady was lady Eleanor Butler, widow of lord Butler of Sudley, and daughter to the great earl of Shrewsbury. On this ground the children of Edward were declared illegitimate by the only parliament assembled by King Richard III.; but no mention was made of Elizabeth Lucy.

Shakspeare followed Holinshed, who copied Hall, as Hall transcribed the account given by Sir Thomas More. MALONE.

⁴ — his own bastardy, —

As being got, your father then in France;] This tale is supposed to have been first propagated by the duke of Clarence, soon after he, in conjunction with his father-in-law the earl Warwick, restored King Henry VI. to the throne; at which time he obtained a settlement of the crown on himself and his issue, after the death of Henry and his heirs male. Sir Thomas More says, that the duke of Gloucester soon after Edward's death revived this tale; but Mr. Walpole very justly observes, that it is highly improbable that Richard should have urged such a topick to the people; that he should "start doubts concerning his own legitimacy, which was

And his resemblance, being not like the duke,
 Withal, I did infer your lineaments, —
 Being the right idea of your father,
 Both in your form and nobleness of mind:
 Lay'd open all your victories in Scotland,
 Your discipline in war, wisdom in peace,
 Your bounty, virtue, fair humility;
 Indeed, left nothing, fitting for your purpose,
 Untouch'd, or slightly handled, in discourse.
 And, when my oratory grew to an end,
 I bade them, that did love their country's good,
 Cry — *God save Richard, England's royal king!*

GLO. And did they so?

BUCK. No, so God help me, they spake not a word;

But, like dumb statuas, or breathless stones,⁵
 Star'd on each other, and look'd deadly pale.
 Which when I saw, I reprehended them;
 And ask'd the mayor, what meant this wilful silence:
 His answer was, — the people were not us'd
 To be spoke to, but by the recorder.
 Then he was urg'd to tell my tale again; —
Thus saith the duke, thus hath the duke inferr'd;
 But nothing spoke in warrant from himself.
 When he had done, some followers of mine own,
 At lower end o' the hall, hurl'd up their caps,

too much conned with that of his brothers to be tossed and bandied about before the multitude." The same ingenious writer has also shewn, that Richard "lived in perfect harmony with his mother, and lodged with her in her palace at this very time." *Historick Doubts*, quarto, 1768. MALONE.

⁵ But, like dumb statuas, or breathless stones,] See Mr. Reed's very decisive account of the word — *statua*, in a note on *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Vol. IV. p. 275, n. 8.

The eldest quartos, 1597 and 1598, together with the first folio, read — *breathing*. The modern editors, with Mr. Rowe, — *unbreathing*. *Breathless* is the reading of the quarto 1612. STEEVENS.

And some ten voices cry'd *God save king Richard!*
 And thus took the vantage of those few,—
Thanks, gentle citizens, and friends, quoth I;
This general applause, and cheerful shout,
Argues your wisdom, and your love to Richard:
 And even here brake off, and came away.

GLO. What tongueless blocks were they; Would
 they not speak?

Will not the mayor then, and his brethren, come?

BUCK. The mayor is here at hand; Intend some
 fear;⁶

Be not you spoke with, but by mighty suit:
 And look you get a prayer-book in your hand,
 And stand between two churchmen, good my lord;
 For on that ground I'll make a holy descant:
 And be not easily won to our requests;
 Play the maid's part, still answer nay, and take it.

GLO. I go; And if you plead as well for them,
 As I can say nay to thee⁷ for myself,
 No doubt we'll bring it to a happy issue.

BUCK. Go, go, up to the leads; the lord mayor
 knocks. [Exit GLOSTER.]

⁶ ——— intend *some fear*:] Perhaps, *pretend*; though *intend* will stand in the sense of giving attention. JOHNSON.

One of the ancient senses of *to intend* was certainly to *pretend*. So, in sc. v. of this act:

“Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,

“*Intending deep suspicion.*” STEEVENS.

⁷ *As I can say nay to thee* —] I think it must be read:

——— *if you plead as well for them*

As I must say, nay to them for myself. JOHNSON.

Perhaps the change is not necessary. Buckingham is to plead for the citizens; and if (says Richard) you speak for them as plausibly as I in my own person, or for my own purposes, shall seem to deny your suit, there is no doubt but we shall bring all to a happy issue.

STEEVENS.

Enter the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens.

Welcome, my lord: I dance attendance here;
I think, the duke will not be spoke withal. —

Enter, from the Castle, CATESBY.

Now, Catesby? what says your lord to my request?

CATE. He doth entreat your grace, my noble lord,

To visit him to-morrow, or next day:

He is within, with two right reverend fathers,

Divinely bent to meditation;

And in no worldly suit would he be mov'd,

To draw him from his holy exercise.

BUCK. Return, good Catesby, to the gracious duke;

Tell him, myself, the mayor and aldermen,

In deep designs, in matter of great moment,

No less importing than our general good,

Are come to have some conference with his grace.

CATE. I'll signify so much unto him straight.

[*Exit.*

BUCK. Ah, ha, my lord, this prince is not an Edward!

He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed,⁷

But on his knees at meditation;

Not dallying with a brace of courtezans,

But meditating with two deep divines;

Not sleeping, to engross⁸ his idle body,

But praying, to enrich his watchful soul:

Happy were England, would this virtuous prince

⁷ — day-bed,] i. e. a couch, or sofa. See Vol. V. p. 300, n. 9. STEEVENS.

⁸ — to engross —] To fatten; to pamper. JOHNSON.

Take on himself the sovereignty thereof;
But, sure, I fear, we shall ne'er win him to it.

MAY. Marry, God defend his grace should say
us nay!⁹

BUCK. I fear, he will: Here Catesby comes
again; —

Re-enter CATESBY.

Now Catesby, what says his grace?

CATE. He wonders to what end you have assembled

Such troops of citizens to come to him,
His grace not being warn'd thereof before:
He fears, my lord, you mean no good to him.

BUCK. Sorry I am, my noble cousin should
Suspect me, that I mean no good to him:
By heaven, we come to him in perfect love;
And so once more return and tell his grace.

[*Exit CATESBY.*

When holy and devout religious men
Are at their beads, 'tis hard to draw them thence;
So sweet is zealous contemplation.

*Enter GLOSTER, in a gallery, above, between two
Bishops.² CATESBY returns.*

MAY. See, where his grace stands 'tween two
clergymen!

⁹ ——— *God defend his grace should say us nay!*] This pious and courtly Mayor was Edmund Shaw, brother to doctor Shaw, whom Richard had employed to prove his title to the crown, from the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross. MALONE.

² ——— *between two Bishops.*] “At the last he came out of his

BUCK. Two props of virtue for a christian prince,
 To stay him from the fall of vanity :
 And, see, a book of prayer in his hand ;
 True ornaments to know a holy man.³ —
 Famous Plantagenet, most gracious prince,
 Lend favourable ear to our requests ;
 And pardon us the interruption
 Of thy devotion, and right-christian zeal.

GLO. My lord, there needs no such apology ;
 I rather do beseech you pardon me,
 Who, earnest in the service of my God,
 Neglect the visitation of my friends.
 But, leaving this, what is your grace's pleasure ?

BUCK. Even that, I hope, which pleaseth God
 above,

And all good men of this ungovern'd isle.

GLO. I do suspect, I have done some offence,
 That seems disgraceful in the city's eye ;
 And that you come to reprehend my ignorance.

BUCK. You have, my lord ; Would it might
 please your grace,
 On our entreaties, to amend your fault !

GLO. Else wherefore breathe I in a Christian
 land ?

chamber, and yet not downe to them, but in a galary over them,
 with a bishop on every hande of hym, where thei beneth might see
 hym and speake to hym, as though he woulde not yet come nere
 them, til he wist what they meant," &c. *Hall's Chronicle*. FARMER.

So also Holinshed after him. The words "*with a bishop on every
 hande of hym,*" are an interpolation by Hall, or rather by Grafton,
 (See his *Continuation of Harding's Chronicle*, 1543, fol. 75,) not
 being found in Sir Thomas More's *History of King Richard III.*
 folio 1557, from whom the rest of the sentence is transcribed.

MALONE.

³ — to know a holy man. —] i. e. to know a holy man by
 See Vol. XVI. p. 185, n. 2, and a note on *Coriolanus*, Act III. sc. ii.
 where several instances of a similar phraseology are given. MALONE.

BUCK. Know, then, it is your fault, that you resign

The supreme seat, the throne majestic,
The scepter'd office of your ancestors,
Your state of fortune, and your due of birth,
The lineal glory of your royal house,
To the corruption of a blemish'd stock:
Whilst, in the mildness of your sleepy thoughts,
(Which here we waken to our country's good,)
The noble isle doth want her proper limbs;⁴
Her face defac'd with scars of infamy,
Her royal stock graft with ignoble plants,⁵
And almost shoulder'd in the swallowing gulf
Of dark forgetfulness⁶ and deep oblivion.

⁴ — *proper limbs*;] Thus the quarto 1598. The folio has — *his limbs*; an error which I should not mention, but that it justifies corrections that I have made in other places, where, for want of more ancient copies than one, conjectural emendation became necessary. See Vol. VIII. 335. n. 8. MALONE.

⁵ *Her royal stock graft with ignoble plants*,] Shakspeare seems to have recollected the text on which Dr Shaw preached his remarkable sermon at St. Paul's Cross: "Bastard slips shall never take deep root." MALONE.

⁶ *And almost shoulder'd in the swallowing gulf*
Of dark forgetfulness——] What it is to be *shoulder'd in a gulph*, Hanmer is the only editor who seems not to have known: for the rest let it pass without observation. He reads:

Almost shoulder'd into th' swallowing gulph.

I believe we should read:

And almost smoulder'd in the swallowing gulph,
That is, almost *smother'd*, covered and lost. JOHNSON.

I suppose the old reading to be the true one. So, in *The Barons' Wars*, by Drayton, canto 1:

"Stoutly t' affront and *shoulder* in debate."

In is used for *into*. So before in this play:

"But first I'll turn yon fellow in his grave."

Again, *ibid*:

"Falsely to draw me in these vile suspects."

Shoulder'd has the same meaning as *rudely thrust into*.

STEEVENS.

Which to recure,⁶ we heartily folicit
 Your gracious self to take on you the charge
 And kingly government of this your land:
 Not as protector, steward, substitute,
 Or lowly factor for another's gain;
 But as successively, from blood to blood,
 Your right of birth, your empery, your own.
 For this, consoled with the citizens,
 Your very worshipful and loving friends,
 And by their vehement instigation,
 In this just suit come I to move your grace.

GLO. I cannot tell, if to depart in silence,
 Or bitterly to speak in your reproof,
 Best fitteth my degree, or your condition:

Shoulder'd is, I believe, the true reading;—not, thrust in by the shoulders, but, immersed *up to the shoulders*. So, in *Othello*:

“*Steep'd* me in poverty *to the very lips*.”

“This passage in *Othello*,” says Mr. M. Mason, “is nothing to the purpose. Had *Othello* used the word *lipp'd*, to signify *immersed up to the lips*, that indeed would justify our supposing that *shoulder'd* might mean immersed up to the shoulders.” But the critick mistook the purpose for which the passage was adduced. It was quoted, not to support the word, “*shoulder'd*,” but to show that the same *idea* had been elsewhere introduced by Shakspeare; that, as in *Othello* he had spoken of being plunged in *poverty to the lips*, so here he might have intended to describe the royal Rock as immersed up to the *shoulders* in *oblivion*.

The word *shoulder'd*, in the following lines in Spenser's *Ruins of Rome*, 1591, may certainly only have been used in its more ordinary signification; but I am not sure that the author did not employ it as it is here used by Shakspeare:

“Like as ye see the wrathful sea from farre,
 “In a great mountaine heapt with hideous noise,
 “Eftsoones of thousand billows *shoulder'd* narre,
 “Against a rock to break with dreadful poyse—.”

However the word may have been employed in the foregoing passage, its existence in our author's time is ascertained by it.

MALONE.

⁶ *Which to recure,*] To *recure* is to *recover*. This word is frequently used by Spenser; and both as a verb and substantive in Lyly's *Endymion*, 1591. STEEVENS.

If, not to answer,⁷ —you might haply think,
 Tongue-ty'd ambition, not replying, yielded
 To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty,
 Which fondly you would here impose on me;
 If to reprove you for this suit of yours,
 So season'd with your faithful love to me,
 Then, on the other side, I check'd my friends.
 Therefore,—to speak, and to avoid the first;
 And then, in speaking, not to incur the last,—
 Definitively thus I answer you.
 Your love deserves my thanks; but my desert
 Unmeritable, shuns your high request.
 First, if all obstacles were cut away,
 And that my path were even to the crown,
 As the ripe revenue and due of birth;⁸
 Yet so much is my poverty of spirit,
 So mighty, and so many, my defects,
 That I would rather hide me from my greatness,—
 Being a bark to brook no mighty sea,—
 Than in my greatness covet to be hid,
 And in the vapour of my glory smother'd.
 But, God be thank'd, there is no need of me;
 (And much I need to help you,⁹ if need were;)
 The royal tree hath left us royal fruit,

⁷ *If, not to answer,*] If I should take the former course, and depart in silence, &c. So below: "*If, to reprove,*" &c. The editor of the second folio reads—*For* not to answer; and his capricious alteration of the text has been adopted by all the subsequent editors. This and the nine following lines are not in the quarto.

MALONE.

⁸ *As the ripe revenue and due of birth;*] So the folio. The quarto 1598 thus:

As my right, revenue, and due by birth.

A preceding line seems rather to favour the original reading:

"Your right of birth, your empery, your own."

The first quarto, (1597) I find, reads:

"As my ripe renew, and due by birth." MALONE.

⁹ *And much I need to help you,*] And I want much of the ability requisite to give you help, if help were needed. JOHNSON.

Which, mellow'd by the stealing hours of time,
 Will well become the seat of majesty,
 And make, no doubt, us happy by his reign.
 On him I lay what you would lay on me,
 The right and fortune of his happy stars,—
 Which, God defend, that I should wring from him!

BUCK. My lord, this argues conscience in your
 grace;

But the respects thereof are nice and trivial,⁹
 All circumstances well considered.

You say, that Edward is your brother's son;
 So say we too, but not by Edward's wife:

For first he was contract to lady Lucy,
 Your mother lives a witness to his vow;

And afterwards by substitute betroth'd
 To Bona, sister to the king of France.²

These both put by, a poor petitioner,³

A care-craz'd mother to a many sons,

A beauty-waning and distressed widow,

Even in the afternoon of her best days,

Made prize and purchase of his wanton eye,

Seduc'd the pitch and height of all his thoughts

To base declension and loath'd bigamy:⁴

⁹ — are nice and trivial,] *Nice* is generally used by Shakespeare in the sense of minute, trifling, of petty import. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

"The letter was not *nice*, but full of charge." MALONE.

² To Bona, sister to the king of France.] See *King Henry VI.* P. III. A&. III. sc. iii. Bona was daughter to the duke of Savoy, and sister to Charlotte, wife to Lewis XI. King of France.

MALONE.

³ — a poor petitioner,] See *King Henry VI.* P. III. A&. III. Vol. XV. p. 99. MALONE.

⁴ — loath'd bigamy:] *Bigamy*, by a canon of the council of Lyons, A. D. 1274, (adopted in England by a statute in 4 Edw. I.) was made unlawful and infamous. It differed from *polygamy*, or having two wives at once; as it consisted in either marrying two virgins successively, or once marrying a widow. BLACKSTONE.

By her, in his unlawful bed, he got
 This Edward, whom our manners call—the prince.
 More bitterly could I expostulate,
 Save that, for reverence to some alive,⁵
 I give a sparing limit to my tongue.
 Then, good my lord, take to your royal self
 This proffer'd benefit of dignity:
 If not to bless us and the land withal,
 Yet to draw forth your noble ancestry
 From the corruption of abusing time,
 Unto a lineal true-derived course.

MAY. Do, good my lord; your citizens entreat
 you.

BUCK. Refuse not, mighty lord, this proffer'd
 love.

CATE. O, make them joyful, grant their lawful
 suit.

GLO. Alas, why would you heap those cares on
 me?

I am unfit for state and majesty:—

I do beseech you, take it not amiss;

I cannot, nor I will not yield to you.

BUCK. If you refuse it,—as in love and zeal,

—— *loath'd bigamy:*] So Sir T. More, copied by Hall and Holinshed: “—the only *widowhead* of Elizabeth Grey, though she were in all other things convenient for you, should yet suffice, as me seemeth, to restraine you from her marriage. fith it is an unfitting thing, and a verie blemish and high disparagement to the sacred majestie of a prince, (that ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness, as he doth in dignity,) to be defouled with *bigamie* in his first marriage.” MALONE.

⁵ *More bitterly could I expostulate,*

Save that, for reverence to some alive,] The duke here hints at a topick which he had touched upon in his address to the citizens, the pretended bastardy of Edward and Clarence. By “some alive,” is meant the dutchess of York, the mother of Edward and Richard.

MALONE.

Loath to depose the child, your brother's son;
 As well we know your tendernefs of heart,
 And gentle, kind, effeminate remorse,⁵
 Which we have noted in you to your kindred,
 And equally, indeed, to all estates,—
 Yet know, whe'r you accept our fuit or no,
 Your brother's fon fhall never reign our king;
 But we will plant fome other in the throne,
 To the difgrace and downfal of your houfe.
 And, in this refolution, here we leave you;—
 Come, citizens, we will entreat no more.

[*Exeunt* BUCKINGHAM and *Citizens*.]

CATE. Call them again, fweet prince, accept their
 fuit;

If you deny them, all the land will rue it.

GLO. Will you enforce me to a world of cares?
 Well, call them again; I am not made of ftone,⁶
 But penetrable to your kind entreaties,

[*Exit* CATESBY.]

Albeit againft my confcience and my foul.—

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM, and the rest.

Coufin of Buckingham,—and fage, grave men,—
 Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
 To bear her burden, whe'r I will, or no,
 I muft have patience to endure the load:
 But if black fcandal, or foul-fac'd reproach,
 Attend the fequel of your impofition,

⁵ ——— *effeminate remorse*.] i. e. pity. See our author, *passim*.
 Thus alfo, in *The Miferies of enforced Marriage*, 1600:

“Be all his days, like winter, comfortlefs;

“Reftlefs his nights, his wants remorselefs.”

i. e. unpitied. STEEVENS.

⁶ ——— *I am not made of ftone*.] The quarto and folio have —
stones. Mr. Pope made the emendation. MALONE.

Your mere enforcement shall acquittance me
 From all the impure blots and stains thereof;
 For God he knows, and you may partly see,
 How far I am from the desire of this.

MAY. God bless your grace! we see it, and will
 say it.

GLO. In saying so, you shall but say the truth.

BUCK. Then I salute you with this royal title,—
 Long live king Richard, England's worthy king!

ALL. Amen.

BUCK. To-morrow may it please you to be
 crown'd?

GLO. Even when you please, since you will have
 it so.

BUCK. To-morrow then we will attend your
 grace;

And so, most joyfully, we take our leave.

GLO. Come, let us to our holy work again:—

[*To the Bishops.*]

Farewell, good cousin;—farewell, gentle friends.⁷

[*Exeunt.*]

⁷ Farewell, good cousin;—farewell, gentle friends.] To this act should, perhaps, be added the next scene, so will the coronation pass between the acts; and there will not only be a proper interval of action, but the conclusion will be more forcible. JOHNSON.

ACT IV. SCENE I.

Before the Tower.

Enter, on one side, Queen ELIZABETH, Duchess of York, and Marquis of DORSET; on the other, Anne Duchess of Gloster,⁸ leading lady Margaret Plantagenet, Clarence's young daughter.

DUCH. Who meets us here?—my niece Plantagenet

*Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloster?*⁹

Now, for my life, she's wand'ring to the Tower,
On pure heart's love, to greet the tender prince.—
Daughter, well met.

ANNE. God give your graces both
A happy and a joyful time of day!

Q. ELIZ. As much to you, good sister! Whither
away?

⁸ — *Anne Duchess of Gloster,*] We have not seen this lady since the second scene of the first act, in which she promised to meet Richard at Crosby-place. She was married about the year 1472.

MALONE.

⁹ *Who meets us here?—my niece Plantagenet*

Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloster?] Here is a manifest intimation, that the dutchess of Gloster leads in somebody in her hand; but there is no direction marked in any of the copies, from which we can learn who it is. I have ventured to guess it must be Clarence's young daughter. The old dutchess of York calls her *niece*, i. e. grand-daughter; as grand-children are frequently called *nephews*. THEOBALD.

So, in *Othello*, *nephews* for *grandchildren*: “—you'll have your daughter cover'd with a Barbary horse, you'll have your *nephews* neigh to you.” MALONE.

See note on *Othello*, A& I. sc. i. STEEVENS.

ANNE. No further than the Tower; and, as I
guess,
Upon the like devotion as yourselves,
To gratulate the gentle princes there.

Q. ELIZ. Kind sister, thanks; we'll enter all to-
gether:

Enter BRAKENBURY.

And, in good time, here the lieutenant comes.—
Master lieutenant, pray you, by your leave,
How doth the prince, and my young son of York?

BRAK. Right well, dear madam: By your pati-
ence,

I may not suffer you to visit them;
The king hath strictly charg'd the contrary.

Q. ELIZ. The king! who's that?

BRAK. I mean, the lord protector.

Q. ELIZ. The Lord protect him from that
kingly title!

Hath he set bounds between their love, and me?
I am their mother, Who shall bar me from them?

DUCH. I am their father's mother, I will see
them.

ANNE. Their aunt I am in law, in love their
mother;

Then bring me to their fights; I'll bear thy blame,
And take thy office from thee, on my peril.

BRAK. No, madam, no, I may not leave it so;^a
I am bound by oath, and therefore pardon me.

[Exit BRAKENBURY.]

^a — I may not leave it so;] That is, I may not so resign my of-
fice, which you offer to take on you at your peril. JOHNSON.

Enter STANLEY.

STAN. Let me but meet you, ladies, one hour hence,

And I'll salute your grace of York as mother,
And reverend looker-on of two fair queens.—
Come, madam, you must straight to Westminster.
[*To the Duchess of Gloster.*

There to be crowned Richard's royal queen.

Q. ELIZ. Ah, cut my lace asunder!

That my pent heart may have some scope to beat,
Or else I swoon with this dead-killing news.

ANNE. Despiteful tidings! O unpleasing news!

DOR. Be of good cheer:—Mother, how fares your grace?

Q. ELIZ. O Dorset, speak not to me, get thee gone,

Death and destruction dog thee at the heels;
Thy mother's name is ominous to children:
If thou wilt outstrip death, go cross the seas,
And live with Richmond, from the reach of hell.
Go, hie thee, hie thee from this slaughterhouse,
Lest thou encrease the number of the dead;
And make me die the thrall of Margaret's
curse,—

Nor mother, wife,² nor England's counted queen.

STAN. Full of wise care is this your counsel,
madam:—

Take all the swift advantage of the hours;
You shall have letters from me to my son
In your behalf, to meet you on the way:
Be not ta'en tardy by unwise delay.

DUCH. O ill-dispersing wind of misery!—

² *Nor mother, wife, &c.*] See p. 291. STEEVENS.

O my accursed womb, the bed of death;
A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world,
Whose unavoyded eye is murderous!³

STAN. Come, madam, come; I in all haste was
sent.

ANNE. And I with all unwillingness will go.—
O, would to God, that the inclusive verge
Of golden metal, that must round my brow,
Were red-hot steel, to sear me to the brain!⁴

³ A cockatrice —

Whose unavoyded eye is murderous!] So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“ — the death-darting eye of cockatrice.”

The *cockatrice* is a serpent supposed to originate from a cock's egg. STEEVENS.

⁴ *Were red-hot steel, to sear me to the brain!*] She seems to allude to the ancient mode of punishing a regicide, or any other egregious criminal, viz. by placing a crown of iron, heated red-hot, upon his head. See *Respublica & Status Hungariæ ex Offic. Elziv.* 1634, p. 136. In the *Tragedy of Hoffman*, 1631, this punishment is also introduced:

“Fix on thy master's head my burning crown.”

Again:

“And wear his crown made hot with flaming fire.

“Bring forth the burning crown there.”

Again:

“ — was adjudg'd

“To have his head sear'd with a burning crown.”

In some of the monkish accounts of a place of future torment, a *burning crown* is likewise appropriated to those who deprived any lawful monarch of his kingdom. STEEVENS.

So Marlowe, in his *King Edward II*:

“ — if proud Mortimer do wear this crown,

“Heaven turn it to a blaze of quenchless fire.” MALONE.

Marlowe's allusion is to the fatal crown which Creusa received, as a nuptial gift, from Medea.

Χρυσῆς μὲν ἀμφὶ κρατὶ κείμενος πλόκος,

Θαυμαστὸν ἴει νῆμα παμφάγου πυρός.

Euripidis *Medea*. v. 1195. STEEVENS.

John the son of Vaivode Stephen having defeated the army of Hungarian peasants, called Croisadoes, in 1514, caused their ge-

Anointed let me be with deadly venom;
And die, ere men can say—God save the queen!

Q. ELIZ. Go, go, poor soul, I envy not thy
glory;

To feed my humour, with thyself no harm.

ANNE. No! why?—When he, that is my husband now,

Came to me, as I follow'd Henry's corse;
When scarce the blood was well wash'd from his
hands,

Which issu'd from my other angel husband,
And that dead saint which then I weeping follow'd;
O, when, I say, I look'd on Richard's face,
This was my wish,—*Be thou, quoth I, accurs'd
For making me, so young, so old a widow!*

*And, when thou wed'st, let sorrow haunt thy bed;
And be thy wife (if any be so mad)*

*More miserable by the life of thee,
Than thou hast made me by my dear lord's death!*

Lo, ere I can repeat this curse again,
Even in so short a space, my woman's heart
Grossly grew captive to his honey words,
And prov'd the subject of mine own soul's curse:
Which ever since hath held mine eyes from rest:
For never yet one hour in his bed⁴
Did I enjoy the golden dew of sleep,

neral, "called George, to be stript naked, upon whose head the executioner set a crown of hot burning iron." Goulart's *Admirable and Memorable Histories*, 1607. This is the fact to which Goldsmith alludes:

"Luke's iron crown, and Damien's bed of steel."

Though it was George, and not his brother Luke, who was so punished: but George's would not suit the poet's metre. The earl of Atholl, who was executed on account of the murder of James I. king of Scots, was, previous to his death, "crowned with a hot iron." See Holinshed. RITSON.

⁴ For never yet one hour in his bed—] Hour is here, as in many other places, used by Shakspeare as a dissyllable. MALONE.

But with his timorous dreams ⁵ was still awak'd.
 Besides, he hates me for my father Warwick;
 And will, no doubt, shortly be rid of me.

Q. ELIZ. Poor heart, adieu; I pity thy complaining.

ANNE. No more than with my soul I mourn for yours.

DOR. Farewell, thou woful welcomer of glory!

ANNE. Adieu, poor soul, that tak'st thy leave of it!

DUCH. Go thou to Richmond, and good fortune guide thee!— [To DORSET.

Go thou to Richard, and good angels tend thee! — [To ANNE.

Go thou to sanctuary, and good thoughts possess thee! [To Q. ELIZABETH.

I to my grave, where peace and rest lie with me!

Eighty odd years ⁶ of sorrow have I seen,

And each hour's joy wreck'd with a week of teen.⁷

⁵ *But with his timorous dreams—*] 'Tis recorded by Polydore Virgil, that Richard was frequently disturbed by terrible dreams: this is therefore no fiction. JOHNSON.

⁶ *Eighty odd years &c.*] Shakspeare has here, I believe, spoken at random. The present scene is in 1483 Richard duke of York the husband of this lady, had he been then living, would have been but *seventy-three* years old, and we may reasonably suppose that his duchess was younger than he was. Nor did she go speedily to her grave. She lived till 1495. MALONE.

⁷ *And each hour's joy wreck'd with a week of teen.*] *Teen* is sorrow. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“And yet to my *teen* be it spoken,” &c.

Again, in *The Return from Parnassus*, 1606:

“Flies have their spleen, each filly ant his *teens*.”

STEEVENS.

So, in *The Rape of Lucrece*:

“Who buys a minute's mirth, to wail a week?”

Q. ELIZ. Stay yet; ² look back, with me, unto
the Tower.—

Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes,
Whom envy hath immur'd within your walls!
Rough cradle for such little pretty ones!
Rude ragged nurse! old fullen play-fellow ³
For tender princes, use my babies well!
So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell. ⁴

[*Exeunt,*

SCENE II.

A Room of state in the Palace.

Flourish of trumpets. Richard, as king upon his
throne; BUCKINGHAM, CATESBY, a Page, and
Others.

K. RICH. Stand all apart.—Cousin of Bucking-
ham,—

BUCK. My gracious sovereign.

K. RICH. Give me thy hand. Thus high, by thy
advice,

“Short pleasure, long lament,” is one of Ray’s proverbial sen-
tences. MALONE.

² *Stay yet; &c.*] This speech is not in the quarto. MALONE.

³ *Rude ragged nurse! old fullen play-fellow—*] To call the
Tower nurse and play-fellow is very harsh; perhaps part of this
speech is addressed to the Tower, and part to the lieutenant.

JOHNSON.

The last line of this speech,

So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell,

proves that the whole of it is addressed to the Tower, and apolo-
gizes for the absurdity of that address, by attributing it to sorrow.

M. MASON.

⁴ *So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell.*] Hither the third
act should be extended, and here it very properly ends with a pause
of action. JOHNSON.

The folio has—*sorrows*. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

And thy assistance, is king Richard seated:—

But shall we wear these glories for a day?

Or shall they last, and we rejoice in them?

BUCK. Still live they, and for ever let them last!

K. RICH. Ah, Buckingham, now do I play the touch,⁵

To try if thou be current gold, indeed:—

Young Edward lives;— Think now what I would speak.

BUCK. Say on, my loving lord.

K. RICH. Why, Buckingham, I say, I would be king.

BUCK. Why, so you are, my thrice-renowned liege.

K. RICH. Ha! am I king? 'Tis so: but Edward lives.

BUCK. True, noble prince.

K. RICH. O bitter consequence,

That Edward still should live,—true, noble prince!—

Cousin, thou wast not wont to be so dull:—

Shall I be plain? I wish the bastards dead:

And I would have it suddenly perform'd.

What say'st thou now? speak suddenly, be brief.

BUCK. Your grace may do your pleasure.

K. RICH. Tut, tut, thou art all ice, thy kindness freezes:

⁵ ——— now do I play the touch,] To play the touch is to represent the touchstone.

So, in the 16th Song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*:

“ With alabaster, tuch, and porphyry adorn'd. ”

Again, in the epistle of *Mary the French Queen to Charles Brandon*, by Drayton:

“ Before mine eye, like touch, thy shape did prove. ”

Again, in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, B. I. c. iii:

“ Though true as touch, though daughter of a king. ”

STEEVENS.

Say, have I thy consent, that they shall die?

BUCK. Give me some breath, some little pause,
dear lord,

Before I positively speak in this:

I will resolve your grace immediately.

[Exit BUCKINGHAM.]

CATE. The king is angry; see, he gnaws his
lip.⁶ [Aside.]

K. RICH. I will converse with iron-witted fools,
[descends from his throne.]

And unrespective boys;⁷ none are for me,
That look into me with confederate eyes:—
High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect—
Boy,—

PAGE. My lord.

K. RICH. Know'st thou not any, whom corrupt-
ing gold

Would tempt unto a close exploit⁸ of death?

PAGE. I know a discontented gentleman,
Whose humble means match not his haughty mind:
Gold were as good as twenty orators,
And will, no doubt, tempt him to any thing.

⁶ ——— *see, he gnaws his lip.*] Several of our ancient historians observe, that this was an accustomed action of Richard, whether he was pensive or angry. STEEVENS.

⁷ *And unrespective boys;*] *Unrespective* is inattentive to consequences, inconsiderate.

So, in Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1599:

“When dissolute impiety possess'd

“The *unrespective* minds of prince and people.”

STEEVENS.

Unrespective is, devoid of cautious and prudential consideration.

MALONE.

See note on the following passage in the *Rape of Lucrece*, edit. 1790, p. 102:

“*Respect* and reason wait on wrinkled age.” STEEVENS.

⁸ *close exploit* ———] Is secret act. JOHNSON.

K. RICH. What is his name?

PAGE. His name, my lord, is — Tyrrel.

K. RICH. I partly know the man; Go, call him
hither, boy. — [Exit Page.

The deep-revolving witty⁹ Buckingham
No more shall be the neighbour to my counsels:
Hath he so long held out with me untir'd,
And stops he now for breath? — well, be it so. —

Enter STANLEY.

How now, lord Stanley? what's the news?

STAN. Know, my loving lord,²
The marquis Dorset, as I hear, is fled
To Richmond, in the parts where he abides.

K. RICH. Come hither, Catesby: rumour it abroad,
That Anne my wife is very grievous sick;
I will take order for her keeping close.³
Enquire me out some mean-born gentleman,
Whom I will marry straight to Clarence' daughter:—

⁹ — *witty* —] In this place signifies *judicious* or *cunning*. A *wit* was not at this time employed to signify a *man of fancy*, but was used for *wisdom* or *judgement*. So, in Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1599:

“Although unwise to live, had *wit* to die.”

Again, in one of Ben Jonson's *Masques*:

“And at her feet do *witty* serpents move.” STEEVENS.

² Know, my loving lord, | Surely, we should adopt Sir Thomas Hanmer's regulation, and give the passage thus:

How now, lord Stanley? what's the news?

My lord, &c.

Are the omitted words—*know* and *loving*, of so much value, that measure must continue to be sacrificed for their preservation?

STEEVENS.

³ *I will take order for her keeping close.* | i. e. I will take measures that shall oblige her to keep close. So, in Marlowe and Nash's *Dido*, 1594, Jupiter says:

“I will *take order* for that presently.”

The same phrase occurs in *Othello*, A & V. sc. ii. STEEVENS.

The boy is foolish,¹ and I fear not him. —
 Look, how thou dream'st! — I say again, give out,
 That Anne my queen is sick, and like to die:
 About it; for it stands me much upon,²
 To stop all hopes, whose growth may damage me. —
 [Exit CATESBY.]

I must be marry'd to my brother's daughter,
 Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass: —
 Murder her brothers, and then marry her!
 Uncertain way of gain! But I am in
 So far in blood, that sin will pluck on sin.³
 Tear-falling pity dwells not in this eye. —

¹ *The boy is foolish,*] Shakspeare has here perhaps anticipated the folly of this youth. He was at this time, I believe, about ten years old, and we are not told by any historian that he had then exhibited any symptoms of folly. Being confined by Henry VII. immediately after the battle of Bosworth, and his education being consequently entirely neglected, he is described by Polydore Virgil at the time of his death (in 1499) as an idiot; and his account (which was copied by Hall and Holinshed) was certainly a sufficient authority for Shakspeare's representation. "Edouardus Varvici comes in carcere ab incunabulis extra hominum ferarumque conspectum nutritus, qui gallinam ab anserem non facile internosceret, cum nullo suo delicto supplicium quærere posset, alieno ad id tractus est." MALONE.

² — *it stands me much upon,*] i. e. it is of the utmost consequence to my designs. The same phrase occurs in *The Comedy of Errors*:

"Consider how it stands upon my credit."

See also *Antony and Cleopatra*, A& II. sc. i. STEEVENS.

³ — *But I am in*

So far in blood, that sin will pluck on sin.] The same reflections occur in *Macbeth*:

"— I am in blood"

"Step'd in so far, that should I wade no more,

"Returning were as tedious," &c.

Again:

"Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill."

STEEVENS.

Re-enter Page, with TYRREL.

Is thy name — Tyrrel? ⁴

TYR. James Tyrrel, and your most obedient subject.

K. RICH. Art thou, indeed?

TYR. Prove me, my gracious lord.

K. RICH. Dar'st thou resolve to kill a friend of mine?

TYR. Please you; but I had rather kill two enemies.

K. RICH. Why, then thou hast it; two deep enemies,

Foes to my rest, and my sweet sleep's disturbers,
Are they that I would have thee deal upon: ⁵

⁴ *Is thy name — Tyrrel?*] It seems, that a late editor (who boasts much of his fidelity in "marking the places of action, both general and particular, and supplying scenical directions") throughout this scene, has left king Richard *on his throne*; whereas he might have learnt from the following passage in Sir John Harrington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, that the monarch appeared, during the present interview with Tyrrel, *on an elevation of much less dignity*. "The best part (says Sir John) of our chronicles, in all men's opinions is that of Richard the third, written as I have heard by Moorton, but as most suppose, by that worthy and incorrupt magistrate Sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England, where it is said, how the king was devising with Teril to have his nephews privily murdered; and it is added, *he was then sitting on a draught; a fit carpet for such a counsel*." See likewise *Holinshed*, Vol. II. p. 735. STEEVENS.

For Richard's mode of proceeding on this occasion, there are, it appears, many ancient and dignified precedents. "Maximilian the emperor," says old Montaigne, "with other customes of his had this one, most contrary to other princes, (who to dispatch their weightiest affaires, make often their c—e s—l their regal throne or council-chamber,) which was," &c. Florio's Translation. 1603.

MALONE.

⁵ — *deal upon:*] So, in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, &c. by Nashe, 1596: "At Wolfe's he's billeted, sweating and dealing

Tyrrel, I mean those bastards in the Tower.

TYR. Let me have open means to come to them;
And soon I'll rid you from the fear of them.

K. RICH. Thou sing'st sweet musick. Hark, come
hither, Tyrrel;

Go, by this token:— Rise, and lend thine ear:

[*Whispers,*
There is no more but so:— Say, it is done,
And I will love thee, and prefer thee for it.

TYR. I will despatch it straight. [*Exit,*

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM.

BUCK. My lord, I have consider'd in my mind
The late demand that you did sound me in.

K. RICH. Well, let that rest. Dorset is fled to
Richmond.

BUCK. I hear the news, my lord.

K. RICH. Stanley, he is your wife's son:— Well,
look to it.

BUCK. My lord, I claim the gift, my due by pro-
mise,

For which your honour and your faith is pawn'd;
The earldom of Hereford,⁶ and the moveables,

upon it most intently." See also my note on *Antony and Cleopatra*,
A& III. sc. ix. STEEVENS.

— deal *upon*:] i. e. act upon. We should now say — deal
with; but the other was the phraseology of our author's time.

MALONE.

⁶ *The earldom of Hereford, &c.*] Thomas duke of Gloster, the
fifth son of Edward the Third, married one of the daughters and
coheirs of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford. The duke of
Gloster's nephew, Henry earl of Derby, (the eldest son of John of
Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward the Third,)
who was afterwards King Henry IV. married the other daughter
of the earl of Hereford. The moiety of the Hereford estate,

Which you have promised I shall possess.

K. RICH. Stanley, look to your wife; if she convey

Letters to Richmond, you shall answer it.

BUCK. What says your highness to my just request?

K. RICH. I do remember me.—Henry the sixth Did prophecy, that Richmond should be king, When Richmond was a little peevish boy. A king! perhaps? —

which had been possessed by that king, was seized on by Edward IV. as legally devolved to the crown, on its being transferred from the house of Lancaster to that of York. Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham was lineally descended from Thomas duke of Gloster, his only daughter Anne having married Edmund Earl of Stafford and Henry being the great grandson of Edmund and Anne. In this right he and his ancestors had possessed one half of the Hereford estate; and he claimed and *actually obtained* from Richard III. after he usurped the throne, the restitution of the other half, which had been seized on by Edward; and also the earldom of Hereford, and the office of Constable of England, which had long been annexed by inheritance to that earldom. See Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 168, 169. Many of our historians however ascribe the breach between him and Richard to Richard's refusing to restore the moiety of the Hereford estate: and Shakspeare has followed them.

Thomas duke of Gloster was created earl of Hereford in 1386 by King Richard II. on which ground the duke of Buckingham had some pretensions to claim a new grant of the *title*; but with respect to the moiety of the estate, he had not a shadow of right to it; for supposing that it devolved to Edward IV. with the crown, it became, after the murder of his sons, the joint property of his daughters. If it did not devolve to King Edward IV. it belonged to the right heirs of King Henry IV. MALONE.

7 *A king! —perhaps—*] From hence to the words, *Thou troublest me, I am not in the vein*—have been left out ever since the first editions, but I like them well enough to replace them. POPE.

The allusions to the plays of *Henry VI.* are no weak proofs of the authenticity of these disputed pieces. JOHNSON.

These allusions, I trust, have been sufficiently accounted for in the *Dissertation* annexed to the preceding play. MALONE.

BUCK. My lord,—

K. RICH. How chance, the prophet could not at
that time

Have told me, I being by, ⁸ that I should kill him?

BUCK. My lord, your promise for the earldom,—

K. RICH. Richmond!—When last I was at Exeter,
The mayor in courtesy shew'd me the castle,
And call'd it—Rouge-mont: at which name, I
started;

Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

BUCK. My lord,—

K. RICH.

Ay, what's o'clock?

BUCK.

I am thus bold

To put your grace in mind of what you promis'd
me.

K. RICH. Well, but what is't o'clock?

BUCK.

Upon the stroke

Of ten.

K. RICH. Well, let it strike.⁹

BUCK.

Why let it strike?

K. RICH. Because that, like a Jack, ² thou keep'st
the stroke

⁸ ——— *I being by,*] The duke of Gloster was not by when Henry uttered the prophecy. See p. 150. Our author seldom took the trouble to turn to the plays to which he referred. MALONE.

⁹ *Well, let it strike,*] This seems to have been a proverbial sentence. So, in *Pierce's Supererogation*, &c. by Gabriel Harvey, 4to. 1593: "*Let the clock strike: I have lost more howers, and lose nothing if I find equity.*" MALONE.

² *Because that, like a Jack, &c.*] An image, like those at St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, and at the market-houses at several towns in this kingdom, was usually called a *Jack of the clock-house*. See Cowley's *Discourse on the Government of Oliver Cromwell*. [Vol. II. p. 650, edit. 1710.] Richard resembles Buckingham to

Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.

I am not in the giving vein to-day.

BUCK. Why, then resolve me whe'r you will,
or no.

one of those automaton, and bids him not suspend the stroke on the clock-bell, but strike, that the hour may be past, and himself be at liberty to pursue his meditations. SIR J. HAWKINS.

So, in *The Fleire*, a comedy, 1610:—"their tongues are, like a Jack o' the clock, still in labour."

Again, in *The Coxcomb*, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

"—— Is this your Jack o' the clock-house?

"Will you strike, sir?"

Again, in a pamphlet by Deckar, called the *Guls Hornbook*, 1609:—"but howsoever, if Powles Jacks be once up with their elbowes, and quarrelling to strike eleven, as soon as ever the clock has parted them, and ended the fray with his hammer, let not the duke's gallery conteyne you any longer."

Perhaps these figures were called Jacks, because the engines of that name which turn the spit were anciently ornamented with such a puppet. In *The Gentleman Usher*, a Comedy by Chapman, 1606, they are alluding to a roasting Jack, and a man says:

"—— as in that quaint engine you have seen

"A little man in shreds stand at the winder,

"And seem to put all things in act about him,

"Lifting and pulling with a mighty stir,

"Yet adds no force to it, nor nothing does."

In *Lantern and Candle-light*, or *The Bellman's Second Night-walk*, &c. by Deckar, is a passage "of a new and cunning drawing of money from gentlemen," which may tend to a somewhat different explanation of the word — *strike*. "There is another fraternitie of wandring pilgrims, who merrily call themselves *Jacks of the Clock-house*. The *jacke of a clock-house* goes upon screws, and his office is to do nothing but *strike*: so does this noise (for they walke up and down like fiddlers) travaile with motions, and whatever their motions get them, is called *striking*." STEEVENS.

A Jack with such a figure as Chapman hath described, was for many years exhibited, as a sign, at the door of a White-Smith's shop in the narrowest part of the Strand. HENLEY.

These automaton were called Jacks of the clock-house, because Jack in our author's time was a common appellation for a mean, contemptible fellow, employed by others in servile offices. See Vol. VI. p. 223, n. 6. MALONE.

K. RICH. Thou troublest me; I am not in the vein.

[*Exeunt King RICHARD and Train.*]

BUCK. And is it thus? repays he my deep service
With such contempt? made I him king for this?
O, let me think on Hastings; and be gone
To Brecknock,² while my fearful head is on.

[*Exit.*]

S C E N E III.

The same.

Enter TYRREL.

TYR. The tyrannous and bloody act is done;
The most arch deed of piteous massacre,
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton, and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this piece of ruthless butchery,
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
Melting with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like two children, in their death's sad story.
O thus, quoth Dighton, lay the gentle babes, —
Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, girdling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms:
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which, in their summer beauty, kiss'd each other.
*A book of prayers on their pillow lay;*³

² — to Brecknock,] To the castle of Brecknock in Wales, where the duke of Buckingham's estate lay. MALONE.

³ *O thus, quoth Dighton, lay the gentle babes, —*

Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, girdling one another

Within their alabaster innocent arms: —

A book of prayers on their pillow lay;] These circumstances were probably adopted from the old song of *The most cruel Murder*



James e Northcote, inv.

L'Egine, Sculp.

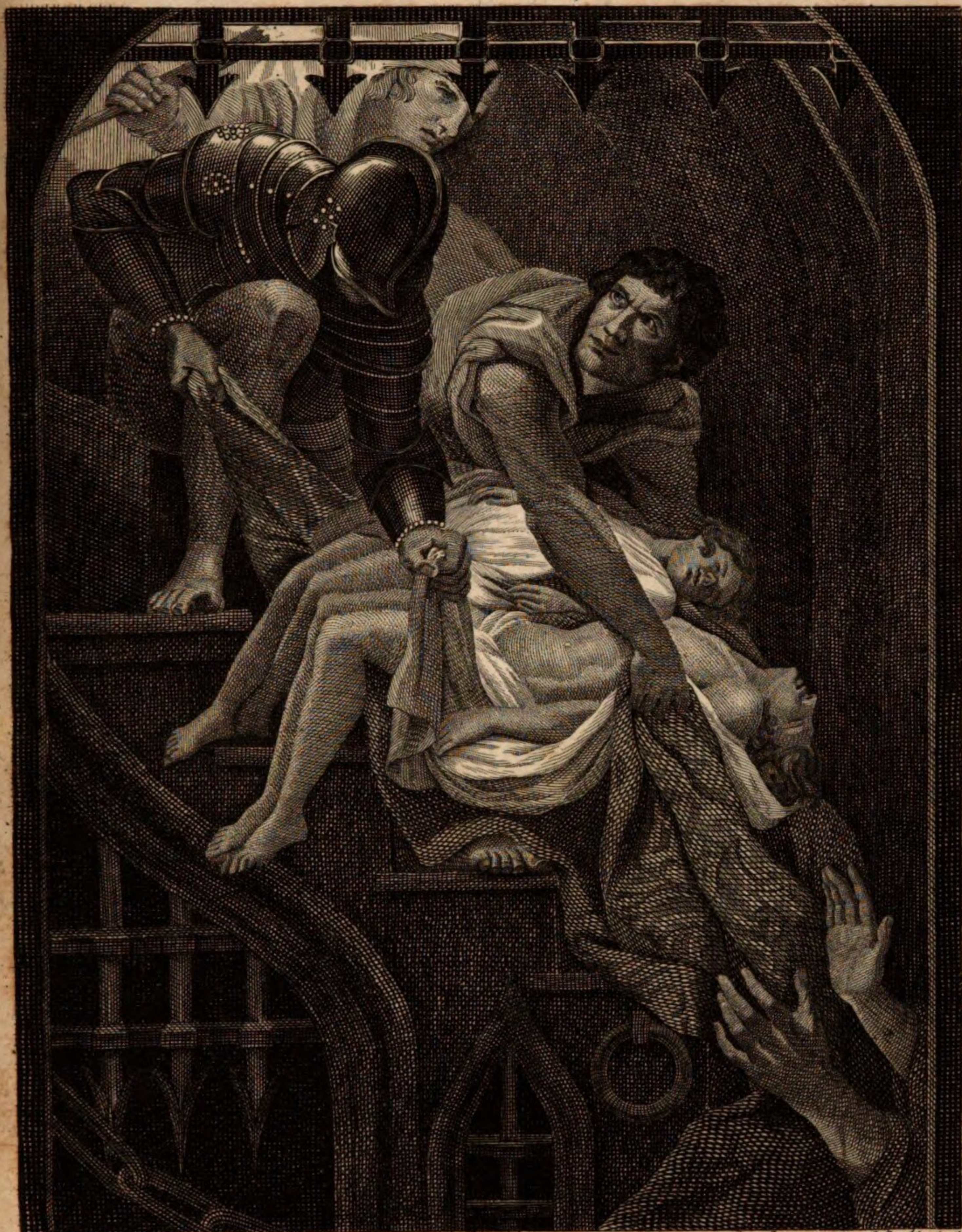
O thus quoth Dighton, lay the gentle babes,—
Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, gridling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms:
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which, in their summer beauty, kiss'd each other.
A book of prayers on their pillow lay;

SHAKSPEARE.

King Richard the Third.

ACT. IV SCEN. III.

Which once, quoth Forrest, almost chang'd my mind:
But, O, the devil—there the villain stopp'd;
When Dighton thus told on, we smothered
The most replenished sweet work of nature!
That, from the prime creation, e'er she fram'd?



Painted by James Northcote R.A.

Engraved in Lorrach by J. J. Mechel.

SHAKSPEARE.

King Richard the Third.

*Tyr. The chaplain of the Tower hath buried them,
But where, to say the truth, I do not know.*

ACT IV. SCENE III.

Tower of London.

K. Rich. But didst thou see them dead.

Tyr. I did, my lord.

K. Rich. And buried gentle Tyrrel.

*Which once, quoth Forrest, almost chang'd my mind;
But, O, the devil — there the villain stopp'd;
When Dighton thus told on, — we smothered
The most replenished sweet work of nature,
That, from the prime creation, e'er she fram'd. —
Hence both are gone with conscience and remorse,
They could not speak; and so I left them both,
To bear this tidings to the bloody king.*

Enter King RICHARD.

And here he comes: — All health, my sovereign lord!

K. RICH. Kind Tyrrel! am I happy in thy news?

TYR. If to have done the thing you gave in charge
Beget your happiness, be happy then,
For it is done.

K. RICH. But didst thou see them dead?

TYR. I did, my lord.

K. RICH. And buried, gentle Tyrrel?

TYR. The chaplain of the Tower hath buried
them;

But where, to say the truth, I do not know.

K. RICH. Come to me, Tyrrel, soon at after supper,

When thou shalt tell the process of their death.

*of Edward V. &c. in The Golden Garland of Princely Delight. The
thirteenth edition of this collection was published in 1690:*

“ When these sweet children thus were laid in bed,
“ And to the Lord their hearty prayers had said,
“ Sweet slumbring sleep then closing up their eyes,
“ Each folded in the other's arms then lies.”

It must be owned, however, that there is nothing to assist us in
ascertaining the exact date of this and many other of our ancient
ballads. STEEVENS.

Mean time, but think how I may do thee good,
And be inheritor of thy desire.
Farewell, till then.

TYR. I humbly take my leave. [*Exit.*

K. RICH. The son of Clarence have I pen'd up
close;⁵

His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage;⁶
The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom,
And Anne my wife hath bid the world good night.
Now, for I know the Bretagne Richmond⁷ aims
At young Elizabeth, my brother's daughter,
And, by that knot, looks proudly on the crown,
To her go I, a jolly thriving wooer.

⁵ *The son of Clarence have I pen'd up close;*] In Sheriff Hutton castle, Yorkshire; where he remained 'till the coming of Henry VII. who immediately after the battle of Bosworth sent him to the Tower, and some few years after, most treacherously and barbarously put him to death: being, from a total want of education and commerce with mankind, so ignorant, that he could not, according to *Hall*, discern a goose from a capon. With this unfortunate young nobleman ended the male line of the illustrious house of Plantagenet. RITSON.

⁶ *His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage;*] To Sir Richard Pole, Knt. This lady, at seventy years of age, without any legal process, and for no crime but her relation to the crown, was beheaded in the Tower by that sanguinary tyrant Henry VIII. Her son, Lord Montague, had been put to death a few years before, in the same manner, and for the same crime; and the famous Cardinal Pole, another of her children, only escaped the fate of his mother and brother, by keeping out of the butcher's reach.

RITSON.

⁷ — *the Bretagne Richmond* —] He thus denominates Richmond, because after the battle of Tewksbury he had taken refuge in the court of Francis II. duke of Bretagne, where by the procurement of King Edward IV. he was kept a long time in a kind of honourable custody. See note on *sc.* iv. MALONE.

Enter CATESBY.

CATE. My lord,—

K. RICH. Good news or bad, that thou com'st in
so bluntly?

CATE. Bad news, my lord: Morton is fled to
Richmond;

And Buckingham, back'd with the hardy Welsh-
men,

Is in the field, and still his power encreaseth.

K. RICH. Ely with Richmond troubles me more
near,

Than Buckingham and his rash-levi'd strength.

Come,— I have learn'd, that fearful commenting
Is leaden servitor⁸ to dull delay;

Delay leads impotent and snail-pac'd beggary:

Then fiery expedition be my wing,

Jove's Mercury, and herald for a king!

Go, muster men: My counsel is my shield;

We must be brief, when traitors brave the field.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

The same. Before the Palace.

Enter Queen MARGARET.

Q. MAR. So, now prosperity begins to mellow,⁹
And drop into the rotten mouth of death.

⁸ ——— *fearful commenting*

Is leaden servitor ———] Timorous thought and cautious dis-
quisition are the dull attendants on delay. JOHNSON.

⁹ ——— *begins to mellow, &c.*] The same thought occurs in Mar-
ston's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602:

Here in these confines flily have I lurk'd,
 To watch the waning of mine enemies,
 A dire induction² am I witness to,
 And will to France; hoping, the consequence
 Will prove as bitter, black, and tragical.
 Withdraw thee, wretched Margaret! who comes
 here?

Enter Queen ELIZABETH and the Duchess of York.

Q. ELIZ. Ah, my poor princes! ah, my tender
 babes!

My unblown flowers, new-appearing sweets!
 If yet your gentle souls fly in the air,
 And be not fix'd in doom perpetual,
 Hover about me with your airy wings,
 And hear your mother's lamentation!

Q. MAR. Hover about her; say, that right for
 right³

Hath dimm'd your infant morn to aged night.

" — now is his fate grown mellow,

" Instant to fall into the rotten jaws

" Of chap-fall'n death." STEEVENS.

² — dire induction —] *Induction* is preface, introduction, first
 part. It is so used by Sackville in our author's time. JOHNSON.

³ — say, that right for right —] This is one of those conceits
 which our author may be suspected of loving better than propriety.
Right for right is justice answering to the claims of justice. So, in
 this play:

" — That forehead

" Where should be branded, if that right were right, —."

JOHNSON.

In the third scene of the first act Margaret was reproached with
 the murder of young Rutland, and the death of her husband and
 son were imputed to the divine vengeance roused by that wicked
 act. "So just is God to right the innocent." Margaret now per-
 haps means to say, The right of me, an injured mother, whose son
 was slain at Tewksbury, has now operated as powerfully as that
 right which the death of Rutland gave you to divine justice, and
 has destroyed your children in their turn. MALONE.

DUCH. So many miseries have craz'd my voice,
That my woe-wearied tongue is still and mute,—
Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead?

Q. MAR. Plantagenet doth quit Plantagenet,
Edward for Edward pays a dying debt.

Q. ELIZ. Wilt thou, O God, fly from such gentle lambs,

And throw them in the entrails of the wolf?
When didst thou sleep,⁴ when such a deed was done?

Q. MAR. When holy Harry died, and my sweet son.

DUCH. Dead life, blind sight, poor mortal-living ghost,

Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life usurp'd,

Brief abstract and record of tedious days,

Rest thy unrest on England's lawful earth,

[*Sitting down.*

Unlawfully made drunk with innocent blood!

Q. ELIZ. Ah, that thou would'st as soon afford
a grave,

As thou canst yield a melancholy seat;

Then would I hide my bones, not rest them here!

Ah, who hath any cause to mourn, but we?

[*Sitting down by her.*

Q. MAR. If ancient sorrow be most reverent,

⁴ *When didst thou sleep, &c.*] That is, When, before the present occasion, didst thou ever sleep during the commission of such an action? Thus the only authentick copies now extant; the quarto, 1598, and the first folio. The editor of the second folio changed *When* to *Why*, which has been adopted by all the subsequent editors; though Margaret's answer evidently refers to the word found in the original copy. MALONE.

I have admitted this reading, though I am not quite certain of its authenticity. The reply of Margaret might have been designed as an interrogatory echo to the last words of the Queen. STEEVENS.

Give mine the benefit of seniory,⁵
 And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.⁶
 If sorrow can admit society. [*sitting down with them.*
 Tell o'er your woes again by viewing mine:—
 I had an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him;
 I had a husband,⁷ till a Richard kill'd him:
 Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him.
 Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard kill'd him.

DUCH. I had a Richard too, and thou didst kill him;

I had a Rutland too, thou help'st to kill him.

Q. MAR. Thou hadst a Clarence too, and Richard kill'd him.

From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
 A hell-hound, that doth hunt us all to death:
 That dog that had his teeth before his eyes,
 To worry lambs, and lap their gentle blood;

⁵ — *seniory,*] For *seniority*. JOHNSON.

So, in Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1615, p. 149:

"—the son of Edmund, the son of Edward the *seignior*, the son of Alured," &c. STEEVENS.

The word in the quarto is *signorie*, in the folio *signeury*, and it has been printed *signiory* in the late editions: but as in general modern spelling has been adopted, I know not why the ancient mode should be adhered to in this particular instance. In *The Comedy of Errors*, Vol. X. p. 316, *senior* has been properly printed by all the modern editors, though the words in the old copy are—"We'll draw cuts for the *signior*." The substantive in the text is evidently formed by our author from hence. MALONE.

⁶ *And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.*] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

"By this starts Collatine as from a dream,

"And bids Lucretius give his sorrows place." MALONE.

⁷ *I had a husband,*] The quarto has—a *Richard*, which the editor of the folio corrected by substituting—a *husband*. I believe Shakspeare wrote—I had a *Henry*. In a subsequent speech in this scene, p. 443. l. 2. "*my brother*" being printed in the quarto by mistake, instead of "*thy brother*," the editor of the folio corrected the wrong word, and printed—*my husband*. MALONE.

That foul defacer of God's handy-work ;
 That excellent grand tyrant of the earth,
 That reigns ⁸ in galled eyes of weeping souls,
 Thy womb let loose, to chase us to our graves.—
 O upright, just, and true-disposing God,
 How do I thank thee, that this carnal ⁹ cur
 Preys on the issue of his mother's body,
 And makes her pew-fellow ² with others' moan!

DUCH. O, Harry's wife, triumph not in my
 woes ;

God witness with me, I have wept for thine.

Q. MAR. Bear with me ; I am hungry for re-
 venge,

And now I cloy me with beholding it.
 Thy Edward he is dead, that kill'd my Edward ;
 Thy other Edward dead, to quit my Edward ;
 Young York he is but boot, ³ because both they
 Match not the high perfection of my loss.

⁸ *That reigns &c.*] This and the preceding line have been omitted by all the modern editors, Rowe excepted. STEEVENS.

These two lines are found only in the folio, and are there transposed. They were rightly arranged by Mr. Steevens. MALONE

⁹ ———carnal——] This word, in the present instance, may signify *carnivorous*, though in *Hamlet* it is used for *slaughterous*:

“Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts.” STEEVENS.

² *And makes her pew-fellow——*] *Pew-fellow* seems to be companion. We have now a new phrase, nearly equivalent, by which we say of persons in the same difficulties, that they are in *the same box*. JOHNSON.

Pew-fellow is a word yet in use. SIR J. HAWKINS.

I find this compound word in *Northward Hoe*, a comedy, by Decker and Webster, 1607: “He would make him *pue-fellow* with a lord's steward at least.”

Again, in *Westward-Hoe*, by the same authors, 1606:

“—being both my scholars, and your honest *pue-fellows*.”

STEEVENS.

³ *Young York he is but boot,*] *Boot* is that which is thrown in to mend a purchase. JOHNSON.

Thy Clarence he is dead, that stabb'd my Edward ;
 And the beholders of this tragick play,
 The adulterate Hastings, ² Rivers, Vaughan, Grey,
 Untimely smother'd in their dusky graves.
 Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer ;
 Only reserv'd their factor, to buy souls,
 And send them thither : But at hand, at hand,
 Ensues his piteous and unpitied end :
 Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray, ³
 To have him suddenly convey'd from hence :—
 Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray,
 That I may live to say, The dog is dead !

Q. ELIZ. O, thou didst prophecy, the time would
 come,

That I should wish for thee to help me curse
 That bottled spider, that foul bunch-back'd toad.

Q. MAR. I call'd thee then, vain flourish of my
 fortune ;

I call'd thee then, poor shadow, painted queen ;
 The presentation of but what I was,
 The flattering index of a direful pageant, ⁴

² *The adulterate Hastings,*] I believe Shakspeare wrote:

The adulterer Hastings,———WARBURTON.

Adulterate is right. We say *metals* are *adulterate*; and *adulterate* sometimes means the same as *adulterer*. In either sense, on this occasion, the epithet will suit. Hastings was *adulterate*, as Margaret has try'd his friendship and found it faithless; he was an *adulterer*, as he cohabited with Jane Shore during the life of her husband. So, the Ghost in *Hamlet*, speaking of the King, says:

“ — that incestuous, that *adulterate* beast. STEEVENS.

³ *Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray,*] This imperfect line is not injudiciously completed by some former editor:

*Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar for him; saints pray,
 To have &c. STEEVENS.*

⁴ *The flattering index of a direful pageant,*] *Pageants* are dumb shows, and the poet meant to allude to one of these, the index of which promised a happier conclusion. The pageants then displayed on public occasions were generally preceded by a brief account of the order in which the characters were to walk. These indexes

One heav'd a high, to be hurl'd down below :
 A mother only mock'd with two fair babes ;
 A dream of what thou wast ; a garish flag,
 To be the aim of every dangerous shot ;⁵
 A sign of dignity, a breath, a bubble ;
 A queen in jest, only to fill the scene.
 Where is thy husband now ? where be thy brothers ?
 Where be thy two sons ? wherein dost thou joy ?
 Who sues, and kneels, and says — God save the
 queen ?
 Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee ?⁶
 Where be the thronging troops that follow'd thee ?
 Decline all this,⁷ and see what now thou art.
 For happy wife, a most distressed widow ;
 For joyful mother, one that wails the name ;
 For one being sued to, one that humbly sues ;
 For queen, a very caitiff crown'd with care :
 For one that scorn'd at me, now scorn'd of me ;
 For one being fear'd of all, now fearing one ;
 For one commanding all, obey'd of none.
 Thus hath the course of justice wheel'd about,⁸

were distributed among the spectators, that they might understand the meaning of such allegorical stuff as was usually exhibited. The index of every book was anciently placed before the beginning of it. STEEVENS.

⁵ — — a garish flag,

To be the aim of every dangerous shot ;] Alluding to the dangerous situation of those persons to whose care the standards of armies were entrusted. STEEVENS.

⁶ *Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee ?*] Mr. Rowe has transferred this question to Alicia in *Jane Shore* :

“ — — where is the king —

“ And all the smiling cringing train of courtiers,

“ That bent the knee before thee ? ” STEEVENS.

⁷ *Decline all this,*] i. e. run through all this from first to last. So, in *Troilus and Cressida* : “ I'll decline the whole question.” This phrase the poet borrowed from his grammar. MALONE.

⁸ — — wheel'd about,] Thus the quartos. The folio — *whirl'd* about. STEEVENS.

And left thee but a very prey to time;
 Having no more but thought of what thou wert,
 To torture thee the more, being what thou art.
 Thou didst usurp my place, And dost thou not
 Usurp the just proportion of my sorrow?
 Now thy proud neck bears half my burden'd yoke;
 From which even here I slip my wearied head,
 And leave the burden of it all on thee.
 Farewell, York's wife, — and queen of sad mis-
 chance, —

These English woes shall make me smile in France.

Q. ELIZ. O thou well skill'd in curses, stay a
 while,

And teach me how to curse mine enemies.

Q. MAR. Forbear to sleep the night, and fast⁷
 the day;

Compare dead happiness with living woe;
 Think that thy babes were fairer⁸ than they were,
 And he, that slew them, fouler than he is:
 Bettering thy loss makes the bad-causer worse;⁹
 Revolving this will teach thee how to curse.

Q. ELIZ. My words are dull, O, quicken them
 with thine!

Q. MAR. Thy woes will make them sharp, and
 pierce like mine. [*Exit Q. MARGARET.*]

⁷ *Forbear to sleep — and fast —*] *Fast* has no connection with the preceding word *forbear*; the meaning being, — Sleep not at night, and fast during the day. The quarto reads — to sleep the nights, and fast the days. MALONE.

⁸ *— were fairer —*] So the quarto. The folio reads — *sweeter*. MALONE.

⁹ *Bettering thy loss makes the bad-causer worse;*] We must either read this line thus: —

Bettering thy loss, *make* the bad-causer worse, which I believe to be the true reading, or include it in a parenthesis. M. MASON.

DUCH. Why should calamity be full of words?

Q. ELIZ. Windy attorneys to their client woes,²
Airy succeders of intestate joys,³
Poor breathing orators of miseries!

Let them have scope: though what they do impart
Help nothing else, yet do they ease the heart.⁴

DUCH. If so, then be not tongue-ty'd: go with me,
And in the breath of bitter words let's smother
My damned son, that thy two sweet sons smother'd.
[*Drum, within.*
I hear his drum, — be copious in exclams.

Enter King RICHARD, and his Train, marching.

K. RICH. Who intercepts me in my expedition?

² Duch. *Why should calamity be full of words?*

Q. Eliz. *Windy attorneys to their client woes,*] So, in our
author's *Venus and Adonis*:

“ So of concealed sorrow may be said:
“ Free vent of words love's fire doth assuage;
“ But when the heart's attorney once is mute,
“ The client breaks as desperate of his suit.”

The quarto reads — *your client woes.* The folio — *their clients*
woes. MALONE.

³ *Airy succeders of intestate joys,*] As I cannot understand the
reading of the folio — *intestine*, I have adopted another from the
quarto in 1597:

Airy succeders of intestate joys:

i. e. words, tun'd to complaints, succeed joys that are dead; and
unbequeath'd to them, to whom they should properly descend.

THEOBALD.

The metaphor is extremely harsh. The joys already possessed
being all consumed and passed away, are supposed to have died
intestate, that is, to have made no will, having nothing to be-
queath; and mere verbal complaints are their successors, but in-
herit nothing but misery. MALONE.

⁴ — *though what they do impart*

Help nothing else, yet do they ease the heart.] So, in *Macbeth*:

“ Give sorrow words; the grief that does not speak,
“ Whispers the o'er-fraught heart, and bids it break.”

The quarto reads — *Help not at all,* —. MALONE.

DUCH. O, she, that might have intercepted thee,
By strangling thee in her accursed womb,
From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou hast done.

Q. ELIZ. Hid'st thou that forehead with a golden
crown,

Where should be branded, if that right/were right,
The slaughter of the prince that ow'd that crown,³
And the dire death of my poor sons, and brothers?
Tell me, thou villain-slave, where are my children?

DUCH. Thou toad, thou toad, where is thy brother
Clarence?

And little Ned Plantagenet, his son?

Q. ELIZ. Where is the gentle Rivers, Vaughan,
Grey?

DUCH. Where is kind Hastings?

K. RICH. A flourish, trumpets! — strike alarum,
drums!

Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women
Rail on the Lord's anointed: Strike, I say. —

[*Flourish. Alarums.*]

Either be patient, and entreat me fair,
Or with the clamorous report of war
Thus will I drown your exclamations.

DUCH. Art thou my son?

K. RICH. Ay; I thank God, my father, and yourself.

DUCH. Then patiently hear my impatience.

K. RICH. Madam, I have a touch of your condition,⁴

That cannot brook the accent of reproof.

³ — that ow'd that crown,] i. e. that possessed it. So, in *King John*:

"Which owe the crown that thou o'ermaistereft." STEEVENS.

⁴ — a touch of your condition,] A *spice* or *particle* of your *temper* or *disposition*. JOHNSON.

DUCH. O, let me speak.

K. RICH. Do, then; but I'll not hear.

DUCH. I will be mild and gentle in my words.

K. RICH. And brief, good mother; for I am in haste.

DUCH. Art thou so hasty? I have staid for thee, God knows, in torment and in agony.

K. RICH. And came I not at last to comfort you?

DUCH. No, by the holy rood, thou know'st it well, Thou cam'st on earth to make the earth my hell.

A grievous burden was thy birth to me;

Tetchy⁵ and wayward was thy infancy;

Thy school-days, frightful, desperate, wild, and furious;

Thy prime of manhood, daring, bold, and venturous;

Thy age confirm'd, proud, subtle, fly, and bloody, More mild, but yet more harmful, kind in hatred:

What comfortable hour canst thou name,

That ever grac'd me⁶ in thy company?

K. RICH. 'Faith, none, but Humphrey Hour,⁷ that call'd your grace

So, in Chapman's translation of the 24th *Iliad*:

"——his cold blood embrac'd a fiery touch

"Of anger," &c. STEEVENS.

⁵ *Tetchy*—] Is touchy, peevish, fretful, ill-temper'd. RITSON.

So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

"To see it *tetchy*, and fall out with the dug——."

STEEVENS.

⁶ *That ever grac'd me*——] To *grace* seems here to mean the same as to *bless*, to make happy. So, *gracious* is kind, and *graces* are favours. JOHNSON.

We find the same expression in *Macbeth*:

"Please it your highness

"To *grace* us with your royal company." STEEVENS.

⁷ ——*Humphrey Hour*,] This may probably be an allusion to

To breakfast once, forth of my company.
If I be so disgracious in your fight,

some affair of gallantry of which the duchess had been suspected. I cannot find the name in Holinshed. Surely the poet's fondness for a quibble has not induced him at once to personify and christen that *hour* of the day which summon'd his mother to breakfast.

So, in *The Wit of a Woman*, 1604: "Gentlemen, time makes us brief: our old mistress, *Hour*, is at hand."

Shakspeare might indeed by this strange phrase (*Humphrey Hour*) have designed to mark the hour at which the good Duchess was as hungry as the followers of *Duke Humphrey*.

The common cant phrase of *dining with duke Humphrey*, I have never yet heard satisfactorily explained. It appears, however, from a satirical pamphlet called *The Guls Horn-booke*, 1609, written by T. Decker, that in the ancient church of St. Paul, one of the ailes was called *Duke Humphrey's Walk*; in which those who had no means of procuring a dinner, affected to loiter. Decker concludes his fourth chapter thus: "By this, I imagine you have walked your bellyful, and thereupon being weary, or (which is rather, I beleeve,) being most gentleman-like hungry, it is fit that as I brought you unto the *duke*, so (because he followes the fashion of great men in *keeping no house*, and that therefore you must go *seeke your dinner*) suffer me to take you by the hand and leade you into an ordinary." The title of this chapter is, "How a gallant should behave himself in *Powles Walkes*."

Hall, in the 7th *Satyre*, B. III. seems to confirm this interpretation :

" 'Tis Ruffio: Trow'st thou where he din'd to-day?

" In sooth I saw him sit with *duke Humfray* :

" Manie good welcoms, and much gratis cheere,

" Keeps he for everie stragling cavaliere ;

" An open house haunted with greate resort,

" *Long service* mixt with *musical disport*," &c.

Hall's *Satyres*, Edit. 1602, p. 60.

See likewise *Foure letters* and certain *Sonnets*, by Gabriel Harvey, 1592 :

" ———to seeke his dinner in Poules with *duke Humphrey* : to licke dishes, to be a beggar."

Again, in *The Return of the Knight of the Pest*, &c. by Nash, 1606 : " ———in the end comming into Poules, to behold the old *duke* and his guests." &c.

Again, in *A wonderful, strange, and miraculous Prognostication, for this Year*, &c. 1591, by Nash: ———fundry fellowes in their silkes shall be appointed to keepe *duke Humfrye* company in Poules, because they know not where to get their dinners abroad."

Let me march on, and not offend you, madam.—
Strike up the drum.

DUCH. I pr'ythee, hear me speak.

K. RICH. You speak too bitterly.

DUCH. Hear me a word;
For I shall never speak to thee again.

K. RICH. So.

DUCH. Either thou wilt die, by God's just ordinance,

Ere from this war thou turn a conqueror;
Or I with grief and extreme age shall perish,
And never look upon thy face again.
Therefore, take with thee my most heavy curse;
Which, in the day of battle, tire thee more,
Than all the complete armour that thou wear'st!
My prayers on the adverse party fight;
And there the little souls of Edward's children
Whisper the spirits of thine enemies,
And promise them success and victory.
Bloody thou art, bloody will be thy end;

If it be objected that *duke Humphrey* was buried at St. Albans, let it likewise be remember'd that cenotaphs were not uncommon.

STEEVENS.

It appears from Stowe's *Survey*, 1598, that *Sir John Bewcampe*, son to Guy, and brother to Thomas, earls of Warwick who dyed in 1358, had "a faire monument" on the south side of the body of St. Paul's church. "He," says Stowe, "is by ignorant people misnamed to be *Humphrey Duke of Gloster*, who lyeth honourably buried at Saint Albans, twentie miles from London: And therefore such as merily professe themselves to serue Duke Humphrey in Powles, are to bee punished here, and sent to Saint Albans, there to be punished againe, for their absence from theyr maister, as they call him." RITSON.

Humphrey Hour,] I believe nothing more than a quibble was meant. In our poet's twentieth Sonnet we find a similar conceit; a quibble between *hues* (colours) and *Hughes*, (formerly spelt *Hewes*) the person addressed. MALONE.

Shame serves thy life,⁸ and doth thy death attend.
[Exit.

Q. ELIZ. Though far more cause, yet much less
spirit to curse

Abides in me; I say amen to her. [Going.

K. RICH. Stay, madam,⁹ I must speak a word
with you.

Q. ELIZ. I have no more sons of the royal
blood,

For thee to murder: for my daughters, Richard, —
They shall be praying nuns, not weeping queens;
And therefore level not to hit their lives.

K. RICH. You have a daughter call'd—Eliza-
beth,

Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious.

Q. ELIZ. And must she die for this? O, let her
live,

And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her beauty;
Slander myself, as false to Edward's bed;
Throw over her the veil of infamy:
So she may live unscarr'd of bleeding slaughter,
I will confess she was not Edward's daughter.

K. RICH. Wrong not her birth, she is of royal
blood.²

Q. ELIZ. To save her life, I'll say—she is not so.

K. RICH. Her life is safest only in her birth.

Q. ELIZ. And only in that safety died her bro-
thers.

⁸ *Shame serves thy life,*] To serve is to accompany, servants being near the persons of their masters. JOHNSON.

⁹ *Stay, madam,*] On this dialogue 'tis not necessary to bestow much criticism, part of it is ridiculous, and the whole improbable. JOHNSON.

² ——*she is of royal blood,*] The folio reads—*she is a royal princess.* STEEVENS.

K. RICH. Lo, at their births ³ good stars were opposite.

Q. ELIZ. No, to their lives bad friends were contrary.

K. RICH. All unavoided ⁴ is the doom of destiny.

Q. ELIZ. True, when avoided grace makes destiny;

My babes were destin'd to a fairer death,

If grace had bless'd thee with a fairer life.

K. RICH. You speak, as if that I had slain my cousins.

Q. ELIZ. Cousins, indeed; and by their uncle cozen'd

Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life.

Whose hands soever lanc'd their tender hearts,

Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction: ⁵

No doubt the murderous knife was dull and blunt,

Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart, ⁶

To revel in the entrails of my lambs.

³ *Lo, at their births*——] Perhaps we should read—*No, at their births*—. TYRWHITT.

⁴ *All unavoided &c.*] i. e. unavoidable. So before:

“Whose *unavoided* eye is dangerous.” MALONE.

⁵ *Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction*:] This is a jingle in which Shakspeare perhaps found more delight than his readers. So, in *Hamlet*:

“By *indirections* find *directions* out.”

The same opposition of words occurs also in *King John*.

STEEVENS.

⁶ *Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart*,] This conceit seems also to have been a great favourite of our author. We meet with it more than once. So, in *King Henry IV.* P. II:

“Thou hid'st a thousand daggers in thy thoughts,

“Which thou hast whetted on thy stony heart,

“To stab,” &c.

Again, in *The Merchant of Venice*:

“Not on thy sole, but on thy soul, harsh Jew,

“Thou mak'st thy knife keen——.” STEEVENS.

But that still use⁶ of grief makes wild grief tame,
 My tongue should to thy ears not name my boys,
 Till that my nails were anchor'd in thine eyes;
 And I, in such a desperate bay of death,
 Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,
 Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.

K. RICH. Madam, so thrive I in my enterprize,
 And dangerous success of bloody wars,
 As I intend more good to you and yours,
 Than ever you or yours by me were harm'd!

Q. ELIZ. What good is cover'd with the face of
 heaven,
 To be discover'd, that can do me good?

K. RICH. The advancement of your children,
 gentle lady.

Q. ELIZ. Up to some scaffold, there to lose their
 heads?

K. RICH. No, to the dignity and height of for-
 tune,
 The high imperial type⁷ of this earth's glory.

Q. ELIZ. Flatter my sorrows with report of it;
 Tell me, what state, what dignity, what honour,

⁶ — still use —] i. e. constant use. So, in *King Richard II*:
 "A generation of still breeding thoughts." STEEVENS.

⁷ The high imperial type —] Type is exhibition, show, display.
 JOHNSON.

I think it means *emblem*, one of its usual significations.—By the
 imperial type of glory, Richard means a crown. M. MASON.

The canopy placed over a pulpit is still called by architects a
type. It is, I apprehend, in a similar sense that the word is here
 used. HENLEY.

Bullokar, in his *Expositor*, 1616, defines *Type* — "A figure,
 form, or likeness of any thing." Cawdrey in his *Alphabetical Ta-*
ble, &c. 1604, calls it — "figure, example, or shadowe of any
 thing." The word is used in *King Henry VI.* P. III. as here:

"Thy father bears the type of king of Naples." MALONE.

Canst thou demise⁸ to any child of mine?

K. RICH. Even all I have; ay, and myself and all,
Will I withal endow a child of thine;
So in the Lethe of thy angry soul
Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs,⁹
Which, thou supposest, I have done to thee.

Q. ELIZ. Be brief, lest that the process of thy
kindness

Last longer telling than thy kindness' date.

K. RICH. Then know, that, from my soul, I love
thy daughter.

Q. ELIZ. My daughter's mother thinks it with
her soul.

K. RICH. What do you think?

Q. ELIZ. That thou dost love my daughter, from
thy soul:

So, from thy soul's love, didst thou love her bro-
thers;

And, from my heart's love, I do thank thee for it.

K. RICH. Be not so hasty to confound my mean-
ing:

I mean, that with my soul I love thy daughter,
And do intend to make her queen of England.

Q. ELIZ. Well then, who dost thou mean shall
be her king?

⁸ *Canst thou demise* — —] To *demise* is to grant, from *demittere*, to devolve a right from one to another. STEEVENS.

The constant language of leases is, "—*demised*, granted, and to farm let." But I believe the word is used by no poet but Shakspeare. For *demise*, the reading of the quarto, and first folio, the editor of the second folio arbitrarily substituted *devise*. MALONE.

⁹ *So in the Lethe of thy angry soul*

Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs,] So, in *King Henry IV.* P. II:

"*May this be wash'd in Lethe and forgotten?*" STEEVENS.

K. RICH. Even he, that makes her queen; Who
else should be?

Q. ELIZ. What, thou?

K. RICH. Even so: What think you
of it, madam?⁹

Q. ELIZ. How canst thou woo her?

K. RICH. That I would learn of you,
As one being best acquainted with her humour.

Q. ELIZ. And wilt thou learn of me?

K. RICH. Madam, with all my heart.²

Q. ELIZ. Send to her, by the man that slew her
brothers,

A pair of bleeding hearts; thereon engrave,
Edward, and York; then, haply, will she weep:
Therefore present to her,—as sometime Margaret³
Did to thy father, steep'd in Rutland's blood,—
A handkerchief; which, say to her, did drain
The purple sap from her sweet brother's body,
And bid her wipe her weeping eyes withal.
If this inducement move her not to love,
Send her a letter of thy noble deeds;
Tell her, thou mad'st away her uncle Clarence,
Her uncle Rivers; ay, and, for her sake,
Mad'st quick conveyance with her good aunt Anne.

K. RICH. You mock me, madam; this is not
the way

⁹ Even so: *What think you of it, madam?*] Thus the folio, except that it reads—*how* instead of *what*. The quarto, without attention to the broken verse preceding:

I, even I: *what think you of it, madam?*

“I am not (says Mr. Malone) sure whether it should not be printed, *Ay, even I.*” STEEVENS.

² Madam, *with all my heart.*] I suppose the word—*Madam*, may be safely omitted, as it violates the measure. STEEVENS.

³ — as *sometime Margaret* —] Here is another reference to the plays of *Henry VI.* JOHNSON.

Repair'd with double riches of content.
 What! we have many goodly days to see:
 The liquid drops of tears that you have shed,
 Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl;
 Advantaging their loan, with interest
 Of ten-times-double gain of happiness.²
 Go then, my mother, to thy daughter go;
 Make bold her bashful years with your experience;
 Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale;
 Put in her tender heart the aspiring flame
 Of golden sov'reignty; acquaint the princess
 With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys:
 And when this arm of mine hath chastised
 The petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham,
 Bound with triumphant garlands will I come,
 And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed:
 To whom I will retail my conquest won.³
 And she shall be sole victress, Cæsar's Cæsar.

Q. ELIZ. What were I best to say? her father's
 brother

Would be her lord? Or shall I say, her uncle?
 Or, he that slew her brothers, and her uncles?
 Under what title shall I woo for thee,

² *Advantaging their loan, with interest*

Of ten-times-double gain of happiness.] [The folio—*love*.]
 My easy emendation will convince every reader that *love* and *lone*
 are made out of one another only by a letter turned upside down.
The tears that you have lent to your afflictions, shall be turn'd into
gems; and requite you by way of interest; &c. THEOBALD.

How often the letters u and n are confounded in these copies, has
 been shown in various places. See Vol. V. p. 178, n. 3; and note
 on *Timon of Athens*, Act IV. sc. iii. Vol. XVII. MALONE.

³ *To whom I will retail my conquest won,*] *To retail* (as Mr. M.
 Mason has observed in a note on Act III. sc. i. p. 348, n. 9.) is
 to hand down from one to another. Richard, in the present in-
 stance, means to say he will *transmit* the benefit of his victories to
 Elizabeth. STEEVENS.

That God, the law, my honour, and her love,
Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?

K. RICH. Infer fair England's peace by this alliance.

Q. ELIZ. Which she shall purchase with still
lasting war.

K. RICH. Tell her, the king, that may command,
entreats.

Q. ELIZ. That at her hands, which the king's
King forbids.⁴

K. RICH. Say, she shall be a high and mighty
queen.

Q. ELIZ. To wail the title, as her mother doth.

K. RICH. Say, I will love her everlastingly.

Q. ELIZ. But how long shall that title, ever,
last?⁵

K. RICH. Sweetly in force unto her fair life's end.

Q. ELIZ. But how long fairly shall her sweet life
last?

K. RICH. As long as heaven, and nature, length-
ens it.

Q. ELIZ. As long as hell, and Richard, likes of it.

K. RICH. Say, I, her sov'reign, am her subject
low.⁶

Q. ELIZ. But she, your subject, loaths such
sov'reignty.

⁴ ——— *which the king's King forbids.*] Alluding to the prohibition in the Levitical law. See Leviticus xviii. 14. GREY.

⁵ *But how long shall that title, ever, last?*] Young has borrowed this thought in his *Universal Passion*:

“ But say, my all, my mistress, and my friend,

“ What day next week th' eternity shall end?” STEEVENS.

⁶ ——— *am her subject low.*] Thus the folio. The quarto reads:
——— *her subject love.* STEEVENS.

K. RICH. Be eloquent in my behalf to her.

Q. ELIZ. An honest tale speeds best, being plainly told.

K. RICH. Then, in plain terms tell her my loving tale.⁷

Q. ELIZ. Plain, and not honest, is too harsh a style.

K. RICH. Your reasons are too shallow and too quick.

Q. ELIZ. O, no, my reasons are too deep and dead; —

Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

K. RICH. Harp not⁸ on that string, madam; that is past.

Q. ELIZ. Harp on it still shall I, till heart-strings break.

⁷ *Then, in plain terms tell her my loving tale.*] So the quarto. The folio reads:

“Then plainly to her tell my loving tale.” MALONE.

⁸ *Harp not &c.*] In the regulation of these short speeches I have followed the quarto 1597. STEEVENS.

K. Rich. *Harp not on that string, madam; that is past.*

Q. Eliz. *Harp on it still shall I, &c.*] In the quarto, 1598, the first of these two lines is wanting. The passage stands thus:

Qu. O, no, my reasons, &c.

Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

King. Harp on it still shall I, till heart-strings break,
Now by my george, &c.

The printer of the next quarto saw that the line — “Harp on it still shall I,” &c. could not belong to Richard, and therefore annexed it to the queen’s former speech, but did not insert the omitted line.

The editor of the folio supplied the line that was wanting, but absurdly misplaced it, and exhibited the passage thus:

Qu. O, no, my reasons are too deep and dead;

Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

Harp on it still shall I, till heart-strings break.

King. Harp not on that string, madam, that is past.

Now by my george, &c.

The text is formed from the quarto, and the folio. MALONE.

K. RICH. Now, by my george, my garter, and
my crown, —

Q. ELIZ. Profan'd, dishonour'd, and the third
usurp'd.

K. RICH. I swear.

Q. ELIZ. By nothing; for this is no oath.
Thy george, profan'd hath lost his holy honour;
Thy garter,² blemish'd, pawn'd his knightly virtue;
Thy crown, usurp'd, disgrac'd his kingly glory:
If something thou would'st swear to be believ'd,
Swear then by something that thou hast not wrong'd.

K. RICH. Now by the world, —

Q. ELIZ. 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs.

K. RICH. My father's death, —

Q. ELIZ. Thy life hath that dishonour'd.

K. RICH. Then, by myself, —

Q. ELIZ. Thyself is self-mis-us'd.

K. RICH. Why then, by God, —

Q. ELIZ. God's wrong is most of all.
If thou had'st fear'd to break an oath by him,³

² Thy george, profan'd, hath lost his holy honour;
Thy garter, &c.] The quarto reads — *The George*, &c. The
folio — *Thy george*; &c. and, afterwards, — *lordly* instead of — *holy*.
STEEVENS.

³ God's wrong is most of all.
If thou had'st fear'd to break an oath by him, &c.] I have fol-
lowed the quarto, except that it reads, in the preceding speech, *Why*
then, by *God*. —. The editors of the folio, from the apprehension
of the penalty of the Statute, 3 Jac. I. c. 21. printed "*Why then*
by heaven," — and the whole they absurdly exhibited thus:

Rich. Why then, by *heaven*.

Qu. *Heaven's* wrong is most of all.

If thou *did'st* fear to break an oath *with* him,
The unity, &c.

If thou had'st fear'd to break an oath *by* him,
The imperial metal, &c.

The unity, the king thy brother made,
 Had not been broken, nor my brother slain.⁴
 If thou had'st fear'd to break an oath by him,
 The imperial metal, circling now thy head,
 Had grac'd the tender temples of my child;
 And both the princes had been breathing here,
 Which now, two tender bed-fellows for dust,⁵
 Thy broken faith hath made a prey for worms.⁶
 What canst thou swear by now?

K. RICH. By the time to come.⁷

Q. ELIZ. That thou hast wronged in the time
 o'er-past;

For I myself have many tears to wash
 Hereafter time, for time past, wrong'd by thee.
 The children live, whose parents thou hast slaugh-
 ter'd,
 Ungovern'd youth, to wail it in their age:⁸
 The parents live, whose children thou hast butch-
 er'd,
 Old barren plants, to wail it with their age.

By their alteration in the first line of the queen's speech, they made all that follows ungrammatical. The change in the preceding speech, not having that consequence, I have adopted it. MALONE.

⁴ — the king thy brother made,

Had not been broken, nor my brother slain.] The quarto, by an error of the press, has — my brother, which the editor of the folio corrected thus:

The unity the king, my husband, made,

Thou hadst not broken, nor my brothers died. MALONE.

⁵ Which now, two tender bed-fellows &c.] Mr. Roderick observes, that the word *two* is without any force, and would read:

Which now too tender, &c. STEEVENS.

Thus the folio. The quarto — two tender *play*-fellows. MALONE.

⁶ — a prey for worms.] So the quarto. Folio — *the* prey.

MALONE.

⁷ By the time to come.] So the quarto. *By* is not in the folio.

MALONE.

⁸ — to wail it in their age:] So the quarto, 1598. The quarto 1602, &c. and the folio, read — *with* their age. MALONE.

Swear not by time to come; for that thou hast
Misus'd ere us'd, by times ill-us'd o'er-past.

K. RICH. As I intend to prosper, and repent!
So thrive I in my dangerous attempt³
Of hostile arms! myself myself confound!
Heaven, and fortune, bar me happy hours!⁴
Day, yield me not thy light; nor, night, thy rest!
Be opposite all planets of good luck
To my proceeding, if, with pure heart's love,
Immaculate devotion, holy thoughts,
I tender not thy beauteous princely daughter!
In her consists my happiness, and thine;
Without her, follows to myself, and thee,
Herself, the land, and many a christian soul,
Death, desolation, ruin, and decay:
It cannot be avoided, but by this;
It will not be avoided, but by this.
Therefore, dear mother, (I must call you so,)
Be the attorney of my love to her.
Plead what I will be, not what I have been;
Not my deserts, but what I will deserve:
Urge the necessity and state of times,
And be not peevish found⁵ in great designs.

Q. ELIZ. Shall I be tempted of the devil thus?

³ — in my dangerous attempt —] So the quarto. Folio — dangerous affairs. MALONE.

⁴ Heaven, and fortune, bar me happy hours!] This line is found only in the folio. MALONE.

⁵ And be not peevish found —] Thus the folio. *Peevish* in our author's time signified *foolish*. So, in the second scene of this act:

“ When Richmond was a little *peevish* boy, — ”

See also Minshew's *DICTIONARY*, in v. The quarto reads — *peevish fond*, and I am not sure that it is not right. A compound epithet might have been intended; *peevish-fond*. So *childish-foolish*, *senseless-obstinate*, *foolish-witty*, &c. MALONE.

I believe the present reading is the true one. So, in *King Henry VIII*:

“ — have great care

“ I be not found a talker. ” STEEVENS.

K. RICH. Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do good.

Q. ELIZ. Shall I forget myself, to be myself?

K. RICH. Ay, if your self's remembrance wrong yourself.

Q. ELIZ. But thou didst kill my children.

K. RICH. But in your daughter's womb I bury them :

Where, in that nest of spicery, they shall breed⁶
Selves of themselves, to your recomforture.

Q. ELIZ. Shall I go win my daughter to thy will?

K. RICH. And be a happy mother by the deed.

Q. ELIZ. I go. — Write to me very shortly,⁷
And you shall understand from me her mind.

K. RICH. Bear her my true love's kifs, and so
farewell. [*Kissing her. Exit Q. ELIZABETH.*
Relenting fool, and shallow, changing — woman!
How now? what news?

Enter RATCLIFF; CATESBY following.

RAT. Most mighty sovereign, on the western coast
Rideth a puissant navy; to the shore
Throng many doubtful hollow-hearted friends,
Unarm'd. and unresolv'd to beat them back :
'Tis thought, that Richmond is their admiral ;
And there they hull, expecting but the aid
Of Buckingham, to welcome them ashore.

K. RICH. Some light-foot friend post to the
duke⁸ of Norfolk: —

⁶ — in that nest of spicery, they shall breed —] Alluding to the phoenix. STEEVENS.

So the quarto. The folio reads — they will breed. MALONE.

⁷ — shortly,] This adverb, in the present instance, is employed as a trisyllable. See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note, Vol. IV. p. 191.

STEEVENS.

⁸ Some light-foot friend post to the duke —] Richard's precipitation

Ratcliff, thyself, — or Catesby; where is he?

CATE. Here, my good lord.

K. RICH. Catesby, fly to the duke.

CATE. I will, my lord, with all convenient haste.

K. RICH. Ratcliff, come hither:⁸ Post to Salisbury;

When thou com'st thither, — Dull unmindful villain, [To CATESBY.

Why stay'st thou here, and go'st not to the duke?

CATE. First, mighty liege, tell me your highness' pleasure,

What from your grace I shall deliver to him.

K. RICH. O, true, good Catesby; — Bid him levy straight

The greatest strength and power he can make,
And meet me suddenly at Salisbury.

CATE. I go. [Exit.

RAT. What, may it please you, shall I do at Salisbury?

K. RICH. Why, what would'st thou do there, before I go?

RAT. Your highness told me, I should post before.

Enter STANLEY.

K. RICH. My mind is chang'd. — Stanley, what news with you?

STAN. None good, my liege, to please you with the hearing;

Nor none so bad, but well may be reported.

and confusion is in this scene very happily represented by inconsistent orders, and sudden variations of opinion. JOHNSON.

⁸ *Ratcliff, come hither:*] The folio has — *Catesby, come hither*. The words are not in the quarto. It is obvious that they are addressed to Ratcliff. The correction was made by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

K. RICH. Heyday, a riddle! neither good, nor bad!
What need'st thou run so many miles about,
When thou may'st tell thy tale the nearest way?
Once more, what news?

STAN. Richmond is on the seas.

K. RICH. There let him sink, and be the seas on him!

White-liver'd runagate,⁹ what doth he there?

STAN. I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guesses.

K. RICH. Well, as you guesses?

STAN. Stirr'd up by Dorset, Buckingham, and Morton,

He makes for England, here to claim the crown.

K. RICH. Is the chair empty? is the sword unsway'd?

Is the king dead? the empire unpossess'd?

What heir of York² is there alive, but we?

And who is England's king, but great York's heir?

⁹ White-liver'd *runagate*,] This epithet, descriptive of cowardice, is not peculiar to Shakspeare. Stephen Gosson in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, speaking of the Helots, says:

“Leave those precepts to the *white-livered* Hylotes.”

STEEVENS.

² *What heir of York*—] i. e. What son of Richard duke of York?

RITSON.

Richard asks this question in the plenitude of power, and no one dares to answer him, But they whom he addresses, had they not been intimidated, might have told him, that there was a male heir of the house of York alive, who had a better claim to the throne than he; Edward earl of Warwick, the only son of the Usurper's elder brother, George duke of Clarence; and Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV, and all her sisters, had a better title than either of them. MALONE.

The issue of king Edward had been pronounced *illegitimate*, the duke of Clarence *attainted of high-treason*,—and the usurper declared “the *undoubted heir of Richard duke of York*,”—by *act of parliament*: so that, as far as such a proceeding can alter the constitution, and legalize usurpation and murder, he is perfectly correct and unanswerable. RITSON.

Then, tell me, what makes he upon the seas?

STAN. Unless for that, my liege, I cannot guess.

K. RICH. Unless for that he comes to be your liege,

You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman comes.
Thou wilt revolt, and fly to him, I fear.

STAN. No, mighty liege;⁹ therefore mistrust me not.

K. RICH. Where is thy power then, to beat him back?

Where be thy tenants, and thy followers?
Are they not now upon the western shore,
Safe-conducting the rebels from their ships?

STAN. No, my good lord, my friends are in the north.

K. RICH. Cold friends to me: What do they in the north,

When they should serve their sovereign in the west?

STAN. They have not been commanded, mighty king:

Pleaseth your majesty to give me leave,
I'll muster up my friends; and meet your grace,
Where, and what time, your majesty shall please.

K. RICH. Ay, ay, thou wouldst be gone to join with Richmond:

I will not trust you, sir.²

STAN. Most mighty sovereign,
You have no cause to hold my friendship doubtful;
I never was, nor never will be false.

K. RICH. Well, go, muster men. But, hear you, leave behind

⁹ *No, mighty liege;]* So the quarto. Folio — No, my good lord.
MALONE.

² *I will not trust you, sir.]* So the quarto. Folio — But I'll not trust thee. MALONE.

Your son, George Stanley : look your heart be firm,
Or else his head's assurance is but frail.

STAN. So deal with him, as I prove true to you.
[Exit STANLEY.]

Enter a Messenger.

MES. My gracious sovereign, now in Devonshire,
As I by friends am well advertised,
Sir Edward Courtney, and the haughty prelate,
Bishop of Exeter, his elder brother,
With many more confederates, are in arms.

Enter another Messenger.

2. MES. In Kent, my liege, the Guildfords are in
arms ;
And every hour more competitors³
Flock to the rebels, and their power grows strong.

Enter another Messenger.

3. MES. My lord, the army of great Bucking-
ham—

K. RICH. Out on ye, owls ! nothing but songs
of death ? [He strikes him.]

There, take thou that, till thou bring better news.

3. MES. The news I have⁴ to tell your majesty,

³ — more competitors—] That is, more opponents. JOHNSON.

Competitors do not here mean opponents, but associates. See a note on this subject in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, where Sir Proteus, speaking of Valentine, says,

“Myself in counsel his competitor.”

That is, his associate. M. MASON.

See Vol. IV. p. 221, n. 5. STEEVENS.

⁴ *The news I have &c.*] So the folio. The quarto reads

Vol. XV.

Is,—that, by sudden floods and fall of waters,
 Buckingham's army is dispers'd and scatter'd ;
 And he himself wander'd away alone,
 No man knows whither.

K. RICH. O, I cry you mercy :
 There is my purse, to cure that blow of thine.
 Hath any well-advised friend proclaim'd
 Reward to him that brings the traitor in ?

3. MES. Such proclamation hath been made, my
 liege.

Enter another Messenger.

4. MES. Sir Thomas Lovel, and lord marquis
 Dorset,

'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in arms.
 But this good comfort bring I to your highness, —
 The Bretagne navy is dispers'd by tempest :
 Richmond, in Dorsetshire, sent out a boat
 Unto the shore, to ask those on the banks,
 If they were his assistants, yea, or no ;
 Who answer'd him, they came from Buckingham
 Upon his party : he, mistrusting them,
 Hois'd sail, and made his course again for Bre-
 tagne.⁵

Your grace mistakes ; the news I bring is good ;
 My news is, &c. M. MALONE.

⁵ ——— *and made his course again for Bretagne.*] Henry Tudor earl of Richmond, the eldest son of Edmund of Hadham earl of Richmond, (who was half-brother to King Henry VI.) by Margaret, the only daughter of John the first duke of Somerset, who was grandson to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, was carried by his uncle Jasper earl of Pembroke immediately after the battle of Tewksbury into Britany, where he was kept in a kind of honourable custody by the duke of Bretagne, and where he remained till the year 1484, when he made his escape and fled for protection to the French court. Being considered at that time as nearest in blood to King Henry VI. all the Lancastrian party looked up to him even

K. RICH. March on, march on, since we are up
in arms;
If not to fight with foreign enemies,
Yet to beat down these rebels here at home.

Enter CATESBY.

CATE. My liege, the duke of Buckingham is
taken,
That is the best news; That the earl of Richmond
Is with a mighty power landed at Milford,⁶
Is colder news, but yet they must be told.⁷

K. RICH. Away towards Salisbury; while we
reason here,⁸

in the life-time of King Edward IV. who was extremely jealous of him; and after Richard *usurped* the throne, they with more confidence supported Richmond's claim. The claim of Henry duke of Buckingham was in some respects inferior to that of Richmond; for he was descended by his mother from Edmund the second duke of Somerset, the younger brother of duke John; by his father from Thomas duke of Gloster, the younger brother of John of Gaunt; but whatever priority the earl of Richmond might claim by his mother, he could not plead any title through his father, who in fact had no Lancastrian blood whatsoever: nor was his maternal title of the purest kind, for John the first earl of Somerset was an illegitimate son of John of Gaunt. MALONE.

⁶ ——— *landed at Milford,*] The earl of Richmond embarked with about 2000 men at Harfleur in Normandy, August 1st, 1485, and landed at Milford Haven on the 7th. He directed his course to Wales, hoping the Welch would receive him cordially, as their countryman, he having been born at Pembroke, and his grandfather being Owen Tudor, who married Katharine of France, the widow of King Henry V. MALONE.

⁷ ——— *they must be told,*] This was the language of Shakspeare's time, when the word *news* was often considered as plural. See note on *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act. I. sc. i. Vol. XVIII.

All the modern editors, however, read—*it must be told.*

MALONE.

⁸ ——— *while we reason here,*] i. e. while we *talk* here. See Vol. XVIII. p. 63. n. 4. MALONE.

A royal battle might be won and lost: ⁷—
 Some one take order, Buckingham be brought
 To Salisbury;—the rest march on with me.

[*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E V.

A Room in Lord Stanley's House.

Enter STANLEY *and* Sir Christopher URSWICK.

STAN. Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from
 me: ⁸—

⁷ *A royal battle might be won and lost:]* So, in *Macbeth*:
 “When the battle's lost and won.”

This antithetical phrase is found in several of our ancient writers.
 STEEVENS.

⁸ *Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me:]* The person, who is called Sir Christopher here, and who has been filed so in the *Dramatis Personæ* of all the impressions, I find by the chronicles to have been Christopher Urfwick, a bachelor in divinity; and chaplain to the countess of Richmond, who had intermarried with the lord Stanley. This priest, the history tells us, frequently went backwards, and forwards, unsuspected, on messages betwixt the countess of Richmond, and her husband, and the young earl of Richmond, whilst he was preparing to make his descent on England. THEOBALD.

This Christopher Urfwick was afterwards Almoner to King Henry VII. and retired to Hackney where he died in 1521. On his tomb, still to be seen in that church, it is said “Ad exteros reges undecies pro patria Legatus; Deconatum Eboracensem, Archidiaconatum Richmundie, Decanatum Windeforiæ, habitos vivens reliquit. Episcopatum Norwicensem oblatum recusavit.—Weaver who has printed this inscription concludes his eulogium thus: “here let him rest as an example for all our great prelates to admire, and for few or none to imitate.” REED.

Dr. Johnson has observed, that *Sir* was anciently a title assumed by graduates. This the late Mr. Guthrie disputes; and says, it was a title sold by the pope's legates, &c. that his holiness might be on the same footing with the king. STEEVENS.

That, in the sty of this most bloody boar,
 My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold;
 If I revolt, off goes young George's head;
 The fear of that withholds my present aid.⁹
 But, tell me, where is princely Richmond now?

CHRIS. At Pembroke, or at Ha'rford-west, in
 Wales.

STAN. What men of name resort to him?

CHRIS. Sir Walter Herbert, a renowned soldier;
 Sir Gilbert Talbot, sir William Stanley;
 Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, sir James Blunt,
 And Rice ap Thomas, with a valiant crew;^a
 And many other of great fame and worth:

In *The Scornful Lady* of Beaumont and Fletcher, Welford says to Sir Roger, the curate, "I acknowledge you to be your *art's master*."—"I am but a *bachelor of art*, sir," replies Sir Roger. Mr. Guthrie would have done well to have informed us, how Sir Roger could possibly have *bought* his *title* of the pope's nuncio; when, as Abigail tells us, he had only "twenty nobles *de claro*, besides his pigges *in posse*." FARMER.

See Vol. V. p. 7, n. 2. STEEVENS.

The title of *Sir* is still appropriated to Bachelors of arts in the University of Dublin; and the word *Bachelor* evidently derived from the French *bas Chevalier*, that is, a lower kind of Knight.—This accounts for the title of *Sir* being given to Bachelors.

M. MASON.

⁹ ———my *present aid*,] Thus the quarto. After these words three lines are added in the folio, in substance the same as the first three lines of Stanley's concluding speech. Instead of the concluding speech of the quarto, which is here followed, the folio reads thus:

Well, hie to thy lord; I kiss his hand;
 My letter will resolve him of my mind,
 Farewell. MALONE.

^a ———*valiant crew*;] This expression (which sounds but meanly in modern ears) has been transplanted by Dryden into his *Alexander's Feast*:

"Give the vengeance due
 "To the *valiant crew*." STEEVENS.

And towards London do they bend their course,
If by the way they be not fought withal.

STAN. Well, hie thee to thy lord ; commend me
to him ;

Tell him, the queen hath heartily consented
He shall espouse Elizabeth her daughter.

These letters will resolve him of my mind.

Farewell. [*Gives papers to Sir Christopher. Exeunt.*]

ACT V. SCENE I.

Salisbury. *An open Place.*

*Enter the Sheriff, and Guard, with BUCKINGHAM,
led to execution.*

BUCK. Will not king Richard let me speak with
him ?²

SHER. No, my good lord ; therefore be patient.

BUCK. Hastings, and Edward's children, Rivers,
Grey,

Holy king Henry, and thy fair son Edward,
Vaughan, and all that have miscarried
By underhand corrupted foul injustice ;
If that your moody discontented souls

² *Will not king Richard let me speak with him ?*] The reason why the duke of Buckingham solicited an interview with the king, is explained in *King Henry VIII.* A&A. I :

“ ———I would have play'd

“ The part my father meant to act upon

“ The usurper Richard ; who, being at Salisbury,

“ Made suit to come in his presence ; which, if granted,

“ As he made semblance of his duty, would

“ Have put his knife into him.” STEEVENS.

See also Hall's Chronicle, Richard III. fo. 16. REED.

Do through the clouds behold this present hour,
Even for revenge mock my destruction!—

This is All-Souls' day, fellows, is it not?

SHER. It is, my lord.

BUCK. Why, then All-Souls' day is my body's
doomday.

This is the day, which, in king Edward's time,

I wish'd might fall on me, when I was found

False to his children, or his wife's allies :

This is the day, wherein I wish'd to fall

By the false faith of him whom most I trusted ;

This, this All-Souls' day to my fearful soul,

Is the determin'd respite of my wrongs.³

That high All-feer which I dally'd with,

Hath turn'd my feigned prayer on my head,

And given in earnest what I begg'd in jest.

Thus doth he force the swords of wicked men

To turn their own points on their masters' bosoms :

Thus Margaret's curse falls heavy on my neck,—

When he, quoth she, shall split thy heart with sorrow,

Remember Margaret was a prophetess.—

Come, firs, convey me to the block of shame;

Wrong hath but wrong, and blame the due of
blame.⁴

[*Exeunt* BUCKINGHAM &c.]

³ *Is the determin'd respite of my wrongs.*] Hanmer has rightly explained it, the time to which the punishment of his wrongs was respited.

Wrongs in this line means *wrongs* done, or injurious practices.

JOHNSON.

⁴ *—blame the due of blame.*] This scene should, in my opinion, be added to the foregoing act, so the fourth act will have a more full and striking conclusion, and the fifth act will comprise the business of the important day, which put an end to the competition of York and Lancaster. Some of the quarto editions are

S C E N E II.

Plain near Tamworth.

*Enter, with drum and colours, RICHMOND, OXFORD,⁵
Sir James BLUNT,⁶ Sir Walter HERBERT, and
Others, with forces, marching.*

RICHM. Fellows in arms, and my most loving
friends,
Bruis'd underneath the yoke of tyranny,
Thus far into the bowels of the land
Have we march'd on without impediment;
And here receive we from our father Stanley
Lines of fair comfort and encouragement.
The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,
That spoil'd your summer fields, and fruitful vines,
Swills your warm blood' like wash, and makes his
trough

not divided into acts, and it is probable, that this and many other plays were left by the author in one unbroken continuity, and afterwards distributed by chance, or what seems to have been a guide very little better, by the judgement or caprice of the first editors.

JOHNSON.

⁵ ——— *Oxford,*] John de Vere earl of Oxford, a zealous Lancastrian, who after a long confinement in Hames Castle in Picardy, escaped from thence in 1484, and joined the earl of Richmond at Paris. He commanded the Archers at the battle of Bosworth.

MALONE.

⁶ ——— *Sir James Blunt,*] He had been captain of the Castle of Hames, and assisted the earl of Oxford in his escape. MALONE.

⁷ *That spoil'd your summer fields, and fruitful vines,
Swills your warm blood &c.*] This sudden change from the past time to the present, and *vice versa*, is common in Shakspeare. So, in the argument prefixed to his *Rape of Lucrece*: "The same night he treacherously *stealeth* into her chamber, violently *ravished* her," &c. MALONE.

In your embowell'd bosoms,⁸—this foul swine
 Lies now⁹ even in the centre of this isle,
 Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn :
 From Tamworth thither, is but one day's march.
 In God's name, cheerly on, courageous friends,
 To reap the harvest of perpetual peace
 By this one bloody trial of sharp war.

OXF. Every man's conscience is a thousand
 swords,²

To fight against that bloody homicide.

HERB. I doubt not, but his friends will turn to
 us.

BLUNT. He hath no friends, but who are friends
 for fear;

⁸ ———*embowell'd bosoms,*] Exenterated; ripped up: alluding, perhaps, to the Promethean vulture; or, more probably, to the sentence pronounced in the English courts against traitors, by which they are condemned to be hanged, *drawn*, that is, *embowelled*, and quartered. JOHNSON.

Drawn, in the sentence pronounced upon traitors only, signifies to be *drawn by the heels or on a hurdle* from the prison to the place of execution. So, Dr. Johnson has properly expounded it in *Measure for Measure*, A&C. II. So, Holinshed in the year 1569, and Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1614, p. 162, 171, 418, 763, 766. Sometimes our historians use a colloquial inaccuracy of expression in writing, hanged, *drawn*, and quarter'd; but they often express it—*drawn*, hanged, and quartered; and sometimes they add—*bowelled*, or his bowels taken out, which would be tautology, if the same thing was implied in the word *drawn*. TOLLET.

Drawn in the sense of *embowelled*, is never used but in speaking of a fowl. It is true, *embowelling* is also part of the sentence in high treason, but in order of time it comes after *drawing* and *hanging*. BLACKSTONE.

⁹ *Lies now*——] i. e. sojourns. See Vol. XIII. p. 140. n. 6. For *lies*, the reading of the quarto, the editors of the folio, probably not understanding the term, substituted—*Is*. See p. 459. n. 5. MALONE.

² ———*conscience is a thousand swords,*] Alluding to the old adage, "*Conscientia mille testes.*" BLACKSTONE.

Thus the quarto. The folio reads—a thousand men. MALONE.

Which, in his dearest need, will fly from him.

RICHM. All for, our vantage. Then, in God's name, march:

True hope is swift, and flies with swallow's wings,⁹
Kings it makes gods, and meaner creatures kings,
[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

Bosworth Field.

Enter King RICHARD, and forces; the duke of NORFOLK, Earl of SURREY, and Others.

K. RICH. Here pitch our tents, even here in Bosworth field.—

My lord of Surrey, why look you so sad?

SUR. My heart is ten times lighter than my looks.

K. RICH. My lord of Norfolk,—

NOR. Here, most gracious liege.

K. RICH. Norfolk, we must have knocks; Ha! must we not?

NOR. We must both give and take, my loving lord.

K. RICH. Up with my tent: Here will I lie to-night;²

[*Soldiers begin to set up the king's tent.*]

But where, to-morrow:—Well, all's one for that.—

Who hath descry'd the number of the traitors?

NOR. Six or seven thousand is their utmost power.

⁹ ———and flies with swallow's wings,] Drayton calls joy,

“——the swallow-winged joy. STEEVENS.

² Up with my tent: Here will I lie to-night;] Richard is reported not to have slept in his tent on the night before the battle, but in the town of Leicester. STEEVENS.

K. RICH. Why, our battalia trebles that account:³
 Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength,
 Which they upon the adverse faction want.—
 Up with the tent.—Come, noble gentlemen,
 Let us survey the vantage of the ground;—
 Call for some men of sound direction:⁴—
 Let's want no discipline, make no delay;
 For, lords, to-morrow is a busy day. [Exeunt.]

*Enter, on the other side of the field, RICHMOND, Sir
 William BRANDON, OXFORD, and other lords.⁵
 Some of the soldiers pitch RICHMOND's Tent.*

RICHM. The weary sun hath made a golden set,
 And, by the bright track of his fiery car,
 Gives token of a goodly day to-morrow.—
 Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard.—
 Give me some ink and paper⁶ in my tent;—

³ — our battalia trebles that account:] Richmond's forces are said to have been only five thousand; and Richard's army consisted of about twelve thousand men. But lord Stanley lay at a small distance with three thousand men, and Richard may be supposed to have reckoned on them as his friends, though the event proved otherwise. MALONE.

⁴ — sound direction:] True judgment; tried military skill.

JOHNSON.

⁵ — Oxford, and other lords.] The direction in the folio, is—
 "Enter Richmond and Sir William Brandon, Oxford and Dorset."
 In the quarto only, "Enter Richmond, with the lords." This is one of numerous proofs that many of the alterations in the folio edition of this play were made by the players, and not by Shakspeare; for Shakspeare had been informed by Holinshed that Dorset was not at the battle of Bosworth; Richmond before his leaving Paris having borrowed a sum of money from the French king, Charles the Eighth, and having left the marquis of Dorset and Sir John Bouchier as hostages for the payment. MALONE.

⁶ Give me some ink and paper——] I have placed these lines as they stand in the first editions: the rest place them three speeches before, after the words Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard; interrupting what there follows; The earl of Pembroke, &c.

I'll draw the form and model of our battle,
 Limit³ each leader to his several charge,
 And part in just proportion our small power.
 My lord of Oxford,—you, sir William Brandon,—
 And you, sir Walter Herbert, stay with me :
 The earl of Pembroke keeps his regiment ;⁴—
 Good captain Blunt, bear my good night to him,
 And by the second hour in the morning
 Desire the earl to see me in my tent :—
 Yet one thing more, good captain, do for me ;
 Where is lord Stanley quarter'd, do you know ?

BLUNT. Unless I have mista'en his colours much,
 (Which, well I am assur'd, I have not done,)
 His regiment lies half a mile at least
 South from the mighty power of the king.

RICHM. If without peril it be possible,
 Sweet Blunt, make some good means⁵ to speak with
 him,
 And give him from me this 'most needful note.

BLUNT. Upon my life, my lord, I'll undertake it ;
 And so, God give you quiet rest to-night !

I think them more naturally introduced here, when he is retiring to his tent ; and considering what he has to do that night. POPE.

I have followed the folio, which, of this play, is by far the most correct copy. I do not find myself much influenced by Mr. Pope's remark. STEEVENS.

In the quarto, this and the three following lines are introduced immediately before the words—"Come, gentlemen, let us consult," &c. MALONE.

³ Limit——] i. e. appoint. So, in *Macbeth* :

"I'll make so bold to call,

"For 'tis my limited service." STEEVENS.

⁴ ——keeps his regiment;] i. e. remains with it. Thus we say of a person confined by illness—he keeps his chamber, or his bed.

STEEVENS.

⁵ ——make some good means——] i. e. adopt some convenient measure. So, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* :

"To make such means for her as thou hast done." STEEVENS.

RICHM. Good night, good captain Blunt. Come, gentlemen,

Let us consult upon to-morrow's business ;
In to my tent, the air is raw⁶ and cold.

[They withdraw into the Tent.]

Enter, to his Tent, King RICHARD, NORFOLK, RATCLIFF, and CATESBY.

K. RICH. What is't o'clock ?

CATE. It's supper time, my lord ;
It's nine o'clock.⁷

K. RICH. I will not sup to-night.—
Give me some ink and paper.—
What, is my beaver easier than it was ?
And all my armour laid into my tent ?

CATE. It is, my liege ; and all things are in readiness.

K. RICH. Good Norfolk, hie thee to thy charge ;
Use careful watch, choose trusty sentinels.

NOR. I go, my lord.

K. RICH. Stir with the lark to-morrow, gentle Norfolk.

NOR. I warrant you, my lord. *[Exit.]*

K. RICH. Ratcliff,—

RAT. My lord ?

K. RICH. Sent out a pursuivant at arms
To Stanley's regiment ; bid him bring his power

⁶ —the air is raw—] So the quarto, Folio—the dew.

MALONE.

⁷ *It's nine o'clock.*] So the folio. The quarto reads—It is *six* of the clock ; full supper time. MALONE.

I think, we ought to read—*six* instead of *nine*. A supper at so late an hour as *nine* o'clock, in the year 1485, would have been a prodigy. STEEVENS.

Before sun-rising, left his son George fall
Into the blind cave of eternal night.—

Fill me a bowl of wine.—Give me a watch:⁸—

[To CATESBY,

Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.⁹—

⁸ ———Give me a watch:] A *watch* has many significations, but I should believe that it means in this place not a sentinel, which would be regularly placed at the king's tent; nor an instrument to measure time, which was not used in that age; but a watch-light, a candle to burn by him; the light that afterwards *burnt blue*; yet a few lines after, he says:

Bid my guard watch.

which leaves it doubtful whether *watch* is not here a sentinel.

JOHNSON.

A *watch*, i. e. guard, would certainly be placed about a royal tent, without any request of the king concerning it.

I believe, therefore, that particular kind of candle is here meant, which was anciently called a *watch*, because, being marked out into sections, each of which was a certain portion of time in burning, it supplied the place of the more modern instrument by which we measure the hours. I have seen these candles represented with great nicety in some of the pictures of Albert Durer.

Barret, in his *Alvearie*, 1580, mentions *watching* lamps or candles. So, in *Love in a Maze*, 1632:

“——slept always with a *watching* candle.”

Again, in *The Noble Soldier*, 1634:

“Beauty was turn'd into a *watching-candle* that went out stinking.”

Again, in *The Return from Parnassus*, 1606:

“Sit now immur'd within their private cells,

“And drink a long lank *watching* candle's smoke.”

Again, in *Albumazar*, 1610:

“Sit up all night like a *watching* candle.” STEEVENS.

Lord Bacon mentions a species of light called an *all-night*, which is a wick set in the middle of a large cake of wax. JOHNSON.

The word *give* shows, I think, that a *watch-light* was intended. Cole has in his Dictionary, 1679, *Watch-candle*. MALONE.

⁹ *Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.*] So, in Holinshed's Chronicle (copied from Hall's, Sig. II. iii. b.) “Then he (inuiroed with his gard) with a frowning countenance and cruell visage, mounted on a great *white courser*, and followed with his footmen,” &c. p. 754. STEEVENS.

Look that my staves be found, ² and not too heavy.
Ratcliff, —

RAT My lord?

K RICH. Saw'st thou the melancholy lord Northumberland? ³

RAT. Thomas the earl of Surrey, and himself,
Much about cock-shut time, ⁴ from troop to troop,

² *Look that my staves be found,*] *Staves* are the wood of the lances.

JOHNSON.

As it was usual to carry more lances than one into the field, the lightness of them was an object of consequence. *Hall* informs us, that at the jousts in honour of the marriage of Mary, the younger sister of King Henry VIII. with the king of France, that "a gentleman called Anthony Bownarme came into the field all armed, and on his body brought in fight x speres, that is to wyt, iii speres set in every styroppe forward, and under every thigh ii speres upwarde, and under his left arme was one spere backward, and the xoth in his hand," &c. STEEVENS.

³ — *the melancholy lord Northumberland?*] Richard, calls him *melancholy*, because he did not join heartily in his cause. "Henry the fourth earle of Northumberland," says Holinshed, "whether it was by the commandement of King Richarde putting diffidence in him, or he did it for the love and favour he bare unto the earle [of Richmond], stood still with a great company, and intermixed not in the battaile; which was [after the battle] incontinently received into favour, and made of the counsaile." MALONE.

⁴ *Much about cock-shut time,*] Ben Jonson uses the same expression in one of his entertainments:

"For you would not yesternight,

"Kiss him in the *cock-shut* light."

Again, in *The Widow*, by Ben Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton, 1652:

"Come away then: a fine *cockshut* evening."

Again, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592:

"In the twilight, *cockshut* light."

In *The Treatise of Fishynge with the Angle*, by dame Julyana Bernes, 1496, among the directions to make a fishing rod is the following: "Take thenne and frette him faste with a *cockshote corde*," &c. but I cannot interpret the word. STEEVENS.

Cock-shut time,] i. e. twilight. In Mr. Whalley's note upon *Ben Jonson*, Vol. V. p. 204. "a *Cockshut* is said to be a net to catch woodcocks; and as the time of taking them in this manner is in the twilight, either after sun-set or before its rising, *cock-shut*

Went through the army, cheering up the soldiers.

K. RICH. I am fatisfy'd. Give me a bowl of wine:

light may very properly exprefs the evening or the morning twilight." The particular form of fuch a net, and the manner of ufing it, is delineated and described in *Diſtionarium Ruſticum*, 2 vols. 8vo. 3d edit. 1726, under the word *cock-roads*. It is the cuſtom of the woodcock to lie cloſe all day, and towards evening he takes wing, which act of flight might anciently be termed his *ſhoot* or *ſhot*. So, the ballaſt of a ſhip is ſaid to *ſhoot*, when it runs from one ſide to the other. This etymology gives us, perhaps, the original ſignification of the word, without any recurrence for it to the name of a net, which might receive its denomination from the time of the day, or from the occaſion on which it was uſed; for I believe there was a net which was called a *cock-ſhot*. Holinſhed's *Description of Britain*, p. 110, calls a ſtone which naturally has a hole in it, "an apt *cocke-ſhot* for the devil to run through;" which, I apprehend, alludes to the reſemblance of the hole in the ſtone to the meſhes of a net. TOLLET.

Mr. Tollet's opinion may be ſupported by the following paſſage in a little metrical performance, called, *No Whipping nor Tripping: but a kinde friendly Snippinge*, 1601:

"A filly honeſt creature may do well

"To watch a *cocke-ſhoote*, or a limed buſh." STEEVENS.

I muſt ſupport my interpretation againſt Mr. Tollet. He in part admits, and then proceeds to overthrow it. And I will ſupport it by the very inſtance Mr. Steevens adduced in his favour. The ballaſt of a ſhip may be ſaid to *ſhoot*; as we now ſay, to *ſhoot* coals, or corn out of a ſack; but it was never yet ſaid that a woodcock *ſhoots*, when he takes his evening flight. *Cocke-ſhoote*, in the paſſage Mr. Steevens cites, is certainly a ſubſtantive, and the accuſative caſe after the verb *watch*, which is confirmed by what follows, *or a limed buſh*. And when the *cockſhut net* is fixed, a perſon always ſtands by to watch and manage it. A ſimilar expreſſion is in Hall's Satires:

"To watch a ſinking cock, upon the ſhore——."

WHALLEY.

The paſſage from Hall is miſquoted. He alludes to Fiſhing and ſays—

"Or watch a ſinking *corke* upon the ſhore." Edit. 1602, *Virgidemiarum*, Lib. 4. p. 33. STEEVENS.

That *cockſhut time* meant *twilight*, is aſcertained by Miſſheu's Dictionary, 1617. See the latter word. MALONE.

Ogilby, in his *Paraphraſe of Æſop's Fables*, 4to. 1651. p. 6. introduces this expreſſion in a way which perhaps ſtrengthens Mr.

I have not that alacrity of spirit,⁵
 Nor cheer of mind, that I was wont to have.—
 So, set it down.⁶—Is ink and paper ready?

RAT. It is, my lord.

K. RICH. Bid my guard watch ; leave me.
 About the mid of night, come to my tent
 And help to arm me.—Leave me, I say.

[*King RICHARD retires into his tent. Exeunt RAT-
 CLIFF and CATESBY.*

*Richmond's Tent opens, and discovers him, and his
 officers, &c.*

Enter STANLEY.

STAN. Fortune and victory sit on thy helm!

RICHM. All comfort that the dark night can af-
 ford,

Be to thy person,⁷ noble father-in-law !

Tollet's opinion that *cockshoot* was taken from the flight of the
 woodcock. He makes the pine boast,

“—when loud winds make *cock-shoots* thro' the wood,

“ Rending down mighty oaks, I firme have flood.”

Here, I apprehend, Ogilby means to describe hurricanes which,
 by blowing down the trees, made glades or partial openings in the
 woods. HOLT WHITE.

⁵ *I have not that alacrity of spirit, &c.]* So, in Holinshed, p. 775 :
 “—not using the alacritie of mirth and mind and countenance as
 he was accustomed to doo before he came toward the battell.”

STEEVENS.

⁶ *So, set it down.]* The word *So* in the old copies stands at the
 beginning of the first line of this speech, caught perhaps by the
 compositor's eye glancing on the line below. Mr. Steevens made
 the emendation. In Richard's next speech the word *Ratcliff* is
 prefixed to the second line, but the metre shews that it was placed
 there by the negligence of the compositor. MALONE.

⁷ *All comfort that the dark night can afford,*

Be to thy person,] So, in *Measure for Measure* :

“ The best and wholesomest spirits of the night

“ Envelop you,—.” STEEVENS.

Tell me, how fares our loving mother?

STAN. I, by attorney,⁷ blefs thee from thy mother,

Who prays continually for Richmond's good:
So much for that.—The silent hours steal on,
And flaky darknefs breaks within the east.
In brief, for fo the feafon bids us be,
Prepare thy battle early in the morning;
And put thy fortune to the arbitrement
Of bloody ftrokes, and mortal-ftaring war,⁸
I, as I may, (that which I would, I cannot,)
With beft advantage will deceive the time,⁹
And aid thee in this doubtful fhock of arms:
But on thy fide I may not be too forward,
Left, being feen, thy brother tender George
Be executed² in his father's fight.

⁷ ——by attorney,] By deputation. JOHNSON.

⁸ ——mortal-ftaring war,] Thus the old copies. I fuppofe, by *mortal-ftaring war* is meant—*war that looks big, or ftares fatally on its victims.* STEEVENS.

I fufpect the poet wrote—*mortal-fearing war.* MALONE.

I adhere to the old reading. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Enobarbus fays of Antony who is iffuing out to battle—

“Now he'll out-ftare the lightning.”

Again, in *The Tempeft*:

“——why ftand you

“In this ftange ftare?” STEEVENS.

⁹ I, as I may,——

With beft advantage will deceive the time,] I will take the beft opportunity to elude the dangers of this conjuncture.

JOHNSON.

² Left, being feen, thy brother tender George

Be executed—] So Holinshed after Hall: “When the faid lord Stanley would have departed into his country to vifit his familie, and to recreate and refrefhe his fpirits, as he openly faid, (but the truth was to the intent to be in a perfite readineffe to join the earle of Richmonde at his firft arrival in Englande,) the king in no wife would fuffer him to depart before he had left as an hoftage in the

Farewell : The leisure and the fearful time
 Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love,³
 And ample interchange of sweet discourse,
 Which so long sunder'd friends should dwell upon;
 God give us leisure for these rites of love !
 Once more, adieu :—Be valiant, and speed well !

RICHM. Good lords, conduct him to his regiment :

I'll strive, with troubled thoughts, to take a nap ;
 Lest leaden slumber⁴ peise me down to-morrow,⁵

court, George Stanley, lord Strange, his first begotten son and heir."—

"The lord Stanley lodged in the same town, [Stafford] and hearing that the earle of Richmond was marching thitherward, gave to him place, dislodging him and his,—to avoid all suspicion, being afraide least if he should be seen openly to be a fañor or ayder to the earle, his son-in-law, before the day of battayle, that king Richard, which yet not utterly put him in diffidence and mistrust, would put to some evil death his son and heir apparent."

The young nobleman whom the poet calls George Stanley, was created Baron Strange, in right of his wife, by King Edward IV. in 1482. MALONE.

³ ——— *The leisure and the fearful time*

Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love,] We have still a phrase equivalent to this, however harsh it may seem, *I would do this, if leisure would permit*, where *leisure*, as in this passage, stands for *want of leisure*. So, again :

——— *More than I have said,*—

The leisure and enforcement of the time

Forbids to dwell upon.— JOHNSON.

That is, the *small degree of leisure* we have. M. MASON.

⁴ *Lest leaden slumber*——] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece* :

"Now leaden slumber with life's strength doth fight."

MALONE.

⁵ —— *peize me down to-morrow,*] Thus the old copies. The modern editions read—*poize*. To *peize*, i. e. to *weigh down*, from *peser*, French.

I meet with this word in the old play of *The Raigne of King Edward the third*, 1596 :

"And *peize* their deeds with heavy weight of lead."

Again, in *All for Money*, 1574 :

"Then if you counterpeaze me learning with money."

When I should mount with wings of victory :
Once more, good night, kind lords and gentlemen.

[*Exeunt* Lords, &c. with STANLEY.

O Thou! whose captain I account myself,
Look on my forces with a gracious eye ;
Put in their hands thy bruising irons⁴ of wrath,
That they may crush down with a heavy fall
The usurping helmets of our adversaries !
Make us thy ministers of chastisement,
That we may praise thee in thy victory!
To thee I do commend my watchful soul,
Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes ;⁵
Sleeping, and waking, O, defend me still ! [*Sleeps.*

*The Ghost*⁶ of Prince Edward, son to Henry the Sixth,
rises between the two tents.

GHOST. Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!⁷
[*To King* RICHARD.

Again, in Christopher Middleton's *Legend of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, 1600 :

“Nor was her schooles *peis'd* down with golden waights.”

See notes on *The Merchant of Venice*, Vol. VIII. p. 78.

STEEVENS.

⁴ ———*bruising irons*——] The allusion is to the ancient mace.

HENLEY.

⁵ *Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes;*] So in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“——thy eyes' windows fall

“Like death——.” STEEVENS.

⁶ *The Ghost &c.*] This circumstance is likewise found in Nichol's *Legend of King Richard III.* (inserted in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, edit. 1610.) and was apparently imitated from Shakespeare :

“As in my tent on slumbring bed I lie,

“Horrid aspects appear'd unto mine eye:

“I thought that all those murder'd ghosts, whom I

“By death had sent to their untimely grave,

“With baleful noise about my tent did crye,

“And of the heavens, with sad complaint, did crave

“That they on guilty wretch might vengeance have.”

Think on the Tower, and me ; Despair, and die ;
Harry the sixth bids thee despair and die!—

Virtuous and holy, be thou conqueror !

[To RICHMOND,

Harry, that prophecy'd thou should'st be king,⁶
Doth comfort thee in thy sleep ; Live, and flourish!⁷

The Ghost of Clarence rises.

GHOST. Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!

[To King RICHARD,

I, that was wash'd to death with fulsome wine,⁸

Poor Clarence, by thy guile betray'd to death!

To-morrow in the battle think on me,

And fall thy edgeless sword ;⁹ Despair, and die!—

[To RICHMOND,

Thou offspring of the house of Lancaster,

⁶ *Harry, that prophecy'd thou should'st be king,*] The prophecy, to which this allusion is made, was uttered in one of the parts of *Henry the Sixth*. JOHNSON.

See p. 58, n. 7. MALONE.

⁷ *Doth comfort thee in thy sleep ; Live, and flourish!*] Surely, we should read, with Sir Thomas Hanmer:

Doth comfort thee in sleep ; Live thou and flourish!

STEEVENS.

⁸ ——— *with fulsome wine,*] *Fulsome*, was sometimes used, I think, in the sense of *unctuous*. The wine in which the body of Clarence was thrown, was *Malmsey*. MALONE.

If Clarence had been choked by this wine, he might fairly enough have employed the epithet *fulsome* in its vulgar and accepted sense.—Shakspeare, however, seems to have forgot himself. The duke (as appears from A & I. sc. ult.) was killed before he was thrown into the *Malmsey butt*, and consequently could not be *washed to death*. STEEVENS.

⁹ *And fall thy edgeless sword ;*] *Fall*, in the present instance, is a verb active, signifying *to drop*, or *let fall*. So, in *Othello*:

“ If that the earth could teem with woman's tears,

“ Each drop she *falls* would prove a crocodile.”

STEEVENS.

The wronged heirs of York do pray for thee;
Good angels guard thy battle! Live, and flourish!

The Ghosts of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan, rise.

RIV. Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow,
[*To King RICHARD.*
Rivers, that died at Pomfret! Despair, and die!

GREY. Think upon Grey, and let thy soul despair!
[*To King RICHARD.*

VAUGH. Think upon Vaughan; and, with guilty
fear,
Let fall thy lance! Despair, and die!—

[*To King RICHARD.*
ALL. Awake! and think, our wrongs in Rich-
ard's bosom [*To RICHMOND.*
Will conquer him;—awake, and win the day!

The Ghost of Hastings rises.

GHOST. Bloody and guilty, guiltily awake;
[*To King RICHARD.*
And in a bloody battle end thy days!
Think on lord Hastings; and despair, and die!—
Quiet untroubled soul, awake, awake!
[*To RICHMOND.*
Arm, fight, and conquer, for fair England's sake!

The Ghosts of the two young Princes rise.

GHOSTS. Dream on thy cousins smother'd in the
Tower;
Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard,²

² *Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard,* [*The first folio &c.*
—*laid.*] This is a poor feeble reading. I have restored from the

And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death!
 Thy nephews' souls bid thee despair and die.—
 Sleep, Richmond, sleep in peace, and wake in
 joy;
 Good angels guard thee from the boar's annoy!
 Live, and beget a happy race of kings!
 Edward's unhappy sons do bid thee flourish.

The Ghost of Queen Anne rises.

GHOST. Richard, thy wife, that wretched Anne
 thy wife,
 That never slept a quiet hour with thee,³
 Now fills thy sleep with perturbations:
 To-morrow in the battle think on me,
 And fall thy edgeless sword; Despair, and die!—

elder quarto, published in 1597, which Mr. Pope does not pretend to have seen:

Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard.

This corresponds with what is said in the line immediately following:

“ And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death!”

THEOBALD.

³ *That never slept a quiet hour with thee,*] Shakspeare was probably here thinking of Sir Thomas More's animated description of Richard, which Holinshed transcribed: “ I have heard (says Sir Thomas) by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberlaine, that after this abominable deed done [the murder of his nephews] he never had quiet in his mind. He never thought himself sure where he went abroad; his eyes whirled about; his body privily fenced; his hand ever upon his dagger; his countenance and manner like one always readie to strike againe. He tooke ill rest a-nights; lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch; rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearfull dreames; sodainely sometime start up, leapt out of bed, and ran about the chamber; so was his restless heart continually tost and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrances of his abominable deede.”

With such a companion well might Anne say, that she never *slept one quiet hour.* MALONE.

Thou, quiet soul, sleep thou a quiet sleep;

[To RICHMOND.

Dream of success and happy victory;

Thy adversary's wife doth pray for thee.

The Ghost of Buckingham rises.

GHOST. The first was I, that help'd thee to the
crown; [To King RICHARD.

The last was I, that felt thy tyranny:

O, in the battle think on Buckingham,

And die in terror of thy guiltiness!

Dream on, dream on, of bloody deeds and death;

Fainting, despair; despairing, yield thy breath!—

I died for hope,⁴ ere I could lend thee aid:

[To RICHMOND.

But cheer thy heart, and be thou not dismay'd:

⁴ *I died for hope,*] i. e. I died for wishing well to you. But Mr. Theobald, with great sagacity, conjectured *holpe* or *aid*; which gave the line this fine sense, *I died for giving thee aid before I could give thee aid.* WARBURTON.

Sir Thomas Hanmer reads:

I died forfook, — — —

and supports his conjecture, as follows:

“ This, as appears from history, was the case of the duke of Buckingham: that being stopp'd with his army upon the banks of Severn by great deluges of rain, he was deserted by his soldiers, who, being in great distress, half famished for want of victuals, and destitute of pay, disbanded themselves and fled.”

Sir Thomas Hanmer's emendation is very plausible; but may not the meaning of the expression be, *I died for only having hoped to give you that assistance*, which I never had it in my power to afford you in reality?

It may, however, be observed, that *fore*, or *for*, when joined to a verb, had anciently a negative signification. So, in *Macbeth*:

“ — — — He shall live a man *forbid*.”

As to *bid* was to pray, so to *forbid* had the meaning directly opposite, i. e. to *curse*. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, to *forspeak* is to

God, and good angels, fight on Richmond's side;
And Richard falls in height of all his pride.

[*The Ghosts vanish. King RICHARD starts out of his dream.*

K. RICH. Give me another horse,⁵—bind up my wounds,—

Have mercy, Jesu!—Soft; I did but dream.—

O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!—

The lights burn blue.⁶—It is now dead midnight.⁷

Speak against. In *Hamlet*, and *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, to *for do* is the very reverse of to *do*. *Holpen* or *holp* is the old participle passive of *help*, and is used in *Macbeth*:

“—— his great love, sharp as his spur, hath *holp* him

“ To his home before us.”

Instead of *for hope*, we may therefore read *forholpe*, which would mean *unaided*, *abandon'd*, *deserted*, *unhelp'd*, which was the real misfortune of the duke of Buckingham. The word *holp* has occurred likewise in this play:

“ Let him thank me that *holp* to send him thither.”

Again, in *Coriolanus*:

“ Have *holp* to make this rescue.” STEEVENS.

Perhaps we should read:

I died *fore-done*, &c.

So, in *Hamlet*, A & V.

“ *Fore-do* its own life.” TYRWHITT.

⁵ *Give me another horse,*] There is in this, as in many of our author's speeches of passion, something very trifling, and something very striking. Richard's debate, whether he should quarrel with himself, is too long continued, but the subsequent exaggeration of his crimes is truly tragical. JOHNSON.

⁶ *The lights burn blue.*] So, in Lyly's *Galathea*, 1592: “I thought there was some *spirit* in it because it burnt so *blue*; for my mother would often tell me when the *candle burnt blue*, there was some ill *spirit* in the house.” It was anciently supposed that fire was a preservative against evil spirits; “because,” says Nash, in *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil*, 1595, “when any spirit appeareth, the lights by little and little goe out as it were of their own accord, and the *takers* are by degrees extinguished.” The *takers* are the spirits who blast or *take*. So, in *King Lear*;

“ —— strike her young bones.

“ Ye *taking* airs, with lameness!” STEEVENS.

Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.
 What do I fear? myself? there's none else by:
 Richard loves Richard; that is, I am I.⁸
 Is there a murderer here? No;—Yes; I am:
 Then fly,—What, from myself? Great reason:
 Why?

Lest I revenge. What? Myself on myself?
 I love myself.⁹ Wherefore? for any good,
 That I myself have done unto myself?
 O, no: alas, I rather hate myself,
 For hateful deeds committed by myself.
 I am a villain: Yet I lie, I am not.
 Fool, of thyself speak well:—Fool, do not flatter.
 My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
 And every tongue brings in a several tale,
 And every tale condemns me for a villain.
 Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree,
 Murder, stern murder, in the dir'st degree;
 All several sins, all us'd in each degree,
 Throng to the bar, crying all,—Guilty! guilty!
 I shall despair.—There is no creature loves me;
 And, if I die, no soul will pity me:—
 Nay, wherefore should they? since that I myself
 Find in myself no pity to myself.

⁷ ——— *It is now dead midnight.*] So reads the quarto, 1597. The next quarto corruptly reads—"It is *not* dead midnight;" for which the editor of the folio, to obtain some sense, substituted "*Is it not* dead midnight?" MALONE.

The reading of the 4to. 1597, could it be supposed to need support, might meet with it in the following observation of *Hamlet*:

"*'Tis now the very witching time of night.*" STEEVENS.

⁸ ——— *that is, I am I.*] Thus the quarto, 1598, and the folio. The quarto, 1597, reads—*I and I.* I am not sure that it is not right. MALONE.

⁹ *I love myself.*] The old copies redundantly read—*Alack, I, love, &c.* STEEVENS.

Methought, the souls of all that I had murder'd^a
 Came to my tent: and every one did threat
 To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.

Enter RATCLIFF.

RAT. My lord,—

K. RICH. Who's there?

^a *Methought, the souls &c.*] These lines stand with so little propriety at the end of this speech, that I cannot but suspect them to be misplaced. Where then shall they be inserted? Perhaps after these words:

Fool, do not flatter. JOHNSON.

I agree with Johnson in supposing that this and the two following lines have been misplaced, but I differ from him with respect to their just situation.—The place, in my opinion, in which they might be introduced with the most propriety, is just ten lines further on, after the words

Ratcliff, I fear, I fear,—

Methought, &c.

And then Ratcliff's reply,

Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows,

would be natural; whereas as the text is now regulated, Ratcliff bids him not to be afraid of shadows, without knowing that he had been haunted by them; unless we suppose that the idea of shadows is included in what Richard calls a *frightful dream*. M. MASON.

Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.

What do I fear? &c.—

Methought, the souls of all that I had murder'd —] Either the two and twenty intermediate lines are not Shakspeare's, or are so unworthy of him, that it were to be wished they could with propriety be degraded to the margin. I wonder that Dr. Johnson, who thought the subsequent lines misplaced, did not perceive that their connection with the preceding part of the speech, ending at—*trembling flesh*, was interrupted solely by this apparent interpolation, which is in the highest degree childish and unnatural. RITSON.

I rather suppose these lines (though genuine) to have been crossed out of the stage manuscript by Shakspeare himself, and afterwards restored by the original but tasteless editor of his play.

Burbage, the first performer of Richard, might, for obvious reasons, have requested their dismissal; or the poet discovering how awkwardly they stood, might, "without a prompter," have discarded them. STEEVENS.

RAT. Ratcliff, my lord; 'tis I.³ The early village
cock

Hath twice done salutation to the morn;
Your friends are up, and bucle on their armour.

K. RICH. O, Ratcliff, ⁴ I have dream'd a fearful
dream!—

What thinkest thou? will our friends prove all true?

RAT. No doubt, my lord.

K. RICH. Ratcliff, I fear, I fear,—

RAT. Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows.

K. RICH. By the apostle Paul, shadows to-night
Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard,
Than can the substance of ten thousand soldiers,
Armed in proof, and led by shallow Richmond.
It is not yet near day. Come, go with me;
Under our tents I'll play the eaves-dropper,
To hear, if any mean to shrink from me.

[*Exeunt King RICHARD and RATCLIFF.*]

Richmond wakes. *Enter OXFORD and Others.*

LORDS. Good morrow, Richmond.

RICHM. 'Cry mercy, lords, and watchful gentlemen,

That you have ta'en a tardy fluggard here.

LORDS. How have you slept, my lord?

³ ——— 'tis I.] Surely, these two syllables, serving only to derange the metre, should be omitted; or we ought to read:

My lord, 'tis I. The early village cock— STEEVENS.

⁴ O, Ratcliff, &c.] This and the two following lines are omitted in the folio. Yet Ratcliff is there permitted to say—"be not afraid of shadows," though Richard's dream has not been mentioned: an additional proof of what has been already suggested in p. 459. n. 5. MALONE.

RICHM. The sweetest sleep, and fairest-boding
dreams,

That ever enter'd in a drowsy head,
Have I since your departure had, my lords.
Methought, their souls, whose bodies Richard murder'd,

Came to my tent, and cry'd—On! victory!
I promise you, my heart is very jocund
In the remembrance of so fair a dream.
How far into the morning is it, lords?

LORDS. Upon the stroke of four.

RICHM. Why, then 'tis time to arm, and give
direction.—[*He advances to the troops.*

More than I have said, loving countrymen,
The leisure and enforcement of the time
Forbids to dwell on: Yet remember this,—
God, and our good cause, fight upon our side;
The prayers of holy saints, and wronged souls,
Like high-rear'd bulwarks, stand before our faces;
Richard except, those, whom we fight against,
Had rather have us win, than him they follow.
For what is he they follow? truly, gentlemen,
A bloody tyrant, and a homicide;
One rais'd in blood, and one in blood establish'd;
One that made means⁴ to come by what he hath,
And slaughter'd those that were the means to help
him;

A base foul stone, made precious by the foil
Of England's chair,⁵ where he is falsely set;

⁴ *One that made means*—] To make means was, in Shakespeare's time, often used in an unfavourable sense, and signified—to come at any thing by indirect practices. STEEVENS.

⁵ —by the foil

[*Of England's chair,*] It is plain that foil cannot here mean that of which the obscurity recommends the brightness of the diamond. It must mean the leaf (*feuille*) or thin plate of metal in which the stone is set. JOHNSON.

One that hath ever been God's enemy:
 Then, if you fight against God's enemy:
 God will, in justice, ward you as his soldiers;
 If you do sweat to put a tyrant down,
 You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain;
 If you do fight against your country's foes,
 Your country's fat shall pay your pains the hire;
 If you do fight in safeguard of your wives,
 Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors;
 If you do free your children from the sword,
 Your childrens' children quit⁶ it in your age.
 Then, in the name of God, and all these rights,
 Advance your standards, draw your willing swords:
 For me, the ransom of my bold attempt⁷
 Shall be this cold corpse on the earth's cold face;
 But if I thrive, the gain of my attempt
 The least of you shall share his part thereof.
 Sound, drums and trumpets, boldly and cheerfully;
 God, and saint George!⁸ Richmond, and victory!
 [Exeunt.

Nothing has been, or is still more common, than to put a bright-coloured foil under a cloudy or low-prized stone. The same allusion is common to many writers. So, in a Song published in *England's Helicon*, 1614:

"False stones by foiles have many one abus'd."

STEEVENS.

England's *chair* means England's *throne*. *Set* is used equivocally.

MALONE.

⁶ —quit—] i. e. requite. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

"To let a fellow who will take rewards,

"And say, God quit you!—" STEEVENS.

⁷ —the ransom of my bold attempt—] The *fine* paid by me in atonement for my rashness shall be my dead corpse. JOHNSON.

⁸ *God, and saint George!*] *Saint George* was the common cry of the English soldiers when they charged the enemy. The author of the old *Arte of Warre*, printed in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, formally enjoins the use of this cry among his military laws, p. 84.

Re-enter King RICHARD, RATCLIFF, Attendants, and Forces.

K. RICH. What said Northumberland, as touching Richmond?

RAT. That he was never trained up in arms.

K. RICH. He said the truth: And what said Surrey then?

RAT. He smil'd and said, the better for our purpose.

K. RICH. He was i'the right; and so, indeed, it is. *[Clock strikes.*

Tell the clock there.—Give me a calendar.—
Who saw the sun to-day?

“*Item, that all souldiers entring into battaile, assault, skirmish, or other faction of armes, shall have for their common cry and word, Saint George, forward, or upon them, saint George, whereby the souldiour is much comforted, and the enemy dismaied by calling to minde the ancient valour of England, which with that name has so often been victorious; and therefore he, who upon any sinister zeale, shall maliciously omit so fortunate a name, shall be severely punished for his obstinate erroneous heart, and perverse mind.*”

Hence too the humour of the following lines in Marston's nervous but neglected satires, entitled *The Scourge of Villainie*, printed in 1599, Lib. III. Sat. viii:

“A pox upon't that *Bacchis'* name should be
“The watch-word given to the souldierie.
“Goe troupe to field, mount thy obscured fame,
“Cry out *Saint George*, invoke thy mistress' name:
“Thy *Mystresse* and *Saint George*,” &c.

In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, that admirable and early ridicule of romance-writing, where the champion *Ralph* is going to attack the *Barber*, or the huge giant *Barbaroso*, the burlesque is heightened, when, with much solemnity, and as if a real heroic encounter had been going forward, he cries out, “*Saint George!* set on before, march squire and page.” Ad. III. sc. i. And afterwards, when the engagement begins, *Ralph* says, “*St. George* for me:” and *Barbaroso*, “*Garagantua* for me.” T. WARTON.

RAT. Not I, my lord.

K. RICH. Then he disdains to shine ; for, by the book,

He should have brav'd the east⁸ an hour ago :

A black day will it be to somebody. —

Ratcliff, —

RAT. My lord ?

K. RICH. The sun will not be seen to day ;

The sky doth frown and lour upon our army.

I would, these dewy tears were from the ground.

Not shine to-day ! Why, what is that to me,

More than to Richmond ? for the self-same heaven,

That frowns on me, looks sadly upon him.

Enter NORFOLK.

NOR. Arm, arm, my lord ; the foe vaunts in the field.

K. RICH. Come, bustle, bustle ; — Caparison my horse ; —

Call up lord Stanley, bid him bring his power : —

I will lead forth my soldiers to the plain,

And thus my battle shall be ordered.

My foreward shall be drawn out all in length,⁹

⁸ ——— brav'd the east ———] i. e. made it splendid. So, Petruchio in *The Taming of a Shrew*, says to the Tailor : “ — thou hast *braved* many men [i. e. invested them with finery] brave not me.” The common signification of the verb — *to brave*, will, in my apprehension, hardly suit the passage before us ; for with what propriety can the sun be said to *challenge* or *set* the East *at defiance* ?

STEEVENS.

⁹ My foreward shall be drawn out all in length,] So Holinshed : “ King Richard having all things in a readiness went forth with the army out of his tentes, and began to set his men in aray : first the forward set forth a marvellous length, both of horsemen and also of footemen, — and to the foremost part of all the bowmen as a strong fortresse for them that came after ; and over this John duke of

Consisting equally of horse and foot;
 Our archers shall be placed in the midst:
 John duke of Norfolk, Thomas earl of Surrey,
 Shall have the leading of this foot and horse.
 They thus directed, we ourself will follow⁶
 In the main battle; whose puissance on either side
 Shall be well winged with our chiefest horse.
 This, and saint George to boot!⁷ — What think'st
 thou, Norfolk?

NOR. A good direction, warlike fovereign. —
 This found I on my tent this morning.⁸

[Giving a scrawl.

K. RICH. *Jocky of Norfolk, be not too bold,*⁹ [reads.
For Dickon thy master² is bought and sold.

Norfolk was head captain. After him followed the king with a
 mighty sort of men." MALONE.

⁶ — *we ourself will follow* —] The word — *ourself* was judi-
 ciously supplied by Sir Thomas Hanmer, to complete the verse.
 STEEVENS.

⁷ *This, and saint George to boot!*] That is, this is the order of
 our battle, which promises success; and over and above this, is
 the protection of our patron saint. JOHNSON.

To boot is (as I conceive) to help, and not *over and above*.

HAWKINS.

Mr. Hawkins is certainly right. So, in *King Richard II*:

" Mine innocence, and Saint George *to thrive*."

The old English phrase was, *Saint George to borrow*. So, in *A
 Dialogue, &c.* by Dr. William Bulleyne, 1564: " Maister and
 maistres, come into this vallie, — untill this storme be past: *Sainste
 George to borowe*, mercifull God, who did ever see the like?"
 Signat. K 7. b. MALONE.

⁸ *This found I on my tent this morning.*] Sir Thomas Hanmer sup-
 plies the deficiency in the metre of this line, by reading:

This paper found I &c. STEEVENS.

⁹ — *be not too bold,*] The quarto 1598, and folio, read — *so
 bold*. But it was certainly an error of the press: for in both Hall
 and Holinshed, the words are given as in the text. MALONE.

² — *Dickon thy master &c.*] *Diccon* is the ancient vulgar fa-
 miliarization of *Richard*. In *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1575, *Diccon*

A thing devised by the enemy. —

Go, gentlemen, every man unto his charge:
Let not our babbling dreams³ affright our souls;
Conscience is but a word⁴ that cowards use,
Devis'd at first to keep the strong in awe;
Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law.
March on, join bravely, let us to't pell-mell;
If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.⁵ —

What shall I say more than I have infer'd?
Remember whom you are to cope withal; —
A sort of vagabonds,⁶ rascals, and run-aways,

is the name of the Bedlam. In the words — *bought and sold*, I believe, there is somewhat proverbial. So, in *The Comedy of Errors*:
“It would make a man as mad as a buck, to be so *bought and sold*.”
Again, in *King John*:

“Fly, noble English, you are *bought and sold*.”

Again, in *Troilus and Cressida*, with an addition that throws more light on the phrase: “— Thou art *bought and sold* among those of any wit, like a Barbarian slave.” STEEVENS.

Again, in *Mortimeriados*, a poem by Michael Drayton, no date:

“Is this the kindness that thou offerest me?”

“And in thy country am I *bought and sold*?”

Again, in Skelton's *Colin Clout*, 1568:

“How prelacy is *sold and bought*,

“And come up of nought.”

Again, in Bacon's History of King Henry VII: “— all the news ran upon the duke of Yorke, that he had been entertained in Ireland, *bought and sold* in France,” &c. — The expression seems to have signified that some foul play has been used. The foul play alluded to here, was Stanley's desertion. MALONE.

³ *Let not our babbling dreams* &c.] I suspect these six lines to be an interpolation; but if Shakspeare was really guilty of them in his first draught, he probably intended to leave them out when he substituted the much more proper harangue that follows.

TYRWHITT.

⁴ *Conscience is but a word* — So the quarto 1598. But being accidentally omitted in a later quarto, the editor of the folio supplied the omission by reading — *For conscience is a word*, &c.

MALONE.

⁵ *If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.*] So, in *Macbeth*:

“That summons thee to heaven, or to hell.” STEEVENS.

⁶ *A sort of vagabonds,*] A sort, that is, a company, a collection.

A scum of Bretagnes, and base lackey peasants,
 Whom their o'er-cloyed country vomits forth
 To desperate ventures⁴ and assur'd destruction.
 You sleeping safe, they bring you to unrest;
 You having lands, and blest'd with beauteous wives,
 They would restrain the one,⁵ distain the other.
 And who doth lead them, but a paltry fellow,
 Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost?⁶

See note on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Vol. VII. p. 89, n. 6.

JOHNSON.

See the concluding words of p. 482, n. 9. MALONE.

⁴ ——— ventures ———] Old copies — adventures. STEEVENS.

⁵ *They would restrain the one,*] i. e. they would lay *restrictions* on the possession of our lands; impose conditions on the proprietors of them. Dr. Warburton for *restrain* substituted *distrain*, which has been adopted by all the subsequent editors. "To *distrain*," says he, "is to *seize upon*;" but to *distrain* is not to *seize* generally, but to *seize* goods, cattle, &c. for non-payment of rent, or for the purpose of enforcing the process of courts. The *restrictions* likely to be imposed by a conquering enemy on lands, are imposts, contributions, &c. or absolute confiscation. — "And if he [Henry earl of Richmond] should atchieve his false intent and purpose," (says Richard in his circular letter sent to the Sheriffs of the several counties in England on this occasion, *Paston Letters*, II. 321,) "every man's life, livelihood, and goods, shall be in his hands, liberty, and disposition." MALONE.

⁶ *Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost?*] This is spoken by Richard, of Henry earl of Richmond: but they were far from having any *common* mother, but England: and the earl of Richmond was not subsisted abroad at the nation's public charge. During the greatest part of his residence abroad, he was watched and restrained almost like a captive; and subsisted by supplies conveyed from the countess of Richmond, his mother. It seems probable, therefore that we must read:

Long kept in Bretagne at his mother's cost. THEOBALD.

Our mother's cost?] Mr. Theobald perceives to be wrong; he reads therefore, and all the editors after him:

Long kept in Bretagne at his mother's cost.

But give me leave to transcribe a few more lines from Holinshed, and you will find at once, that Shakspeare had been there before me:

A milk-sop,⁷ one that never in his life
Felt so much cold as over shoes in snow?

“ You see further, how a companie of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runagates be aiders and partakers of this feate and enterprize. — And to begin with the erle of Richmond, captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welch milk-sop — brought up by *my moother's* meanes and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine.” p. 756.

Holinshed copies this *verbatim* from his brother chronicler, Hall, edit. 1548. fol. 54 but his printer has given us by accident the word *moother* instead of *brother*; as it is in the original, and ought to be in Shakspeare. FARMER.

See a letter of King Richard III. persuading his subjects to resist Henry Tydder, &c. in Sir John Fenn's Collection of the *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 318. HENLEY.

Henry Earl of Richmond was long confined in the court of the duke of Britaine, and supported there by Charles duke of Burgundy, who was *brother-in-law* to King Richard. Hence Mr. Theobald justly observed that *mother* in the text was not conformable to the fact. But Shakspeare, as Dr. Farmer has observed, was led into this error by Holinshed, where he found the preceding passage in an oration which Hall, in imitation of the ancient historians, invented, and exhibited as having been spoken by the king to his soldiers before the battle of Bosworth.

If, says a remarker, [Mr. Ritson,] *it ought to be so in Shakspeare*, why stop at this correction, and why not in *King Henry V.* print *præcarissimus* instead of *præclarissimus*? [See Vol. XIII. p. 496, n. 2.] And indeed if *brother* is to be substituted for *mother* here, there can be no reason why all other similar errors should not be corrected in like manner. But the Remarker misunderstood Dr. Farmer's words, which only mean — as it is in the original, and *as Shakspeare ought to have written*. Dr. Farmer did not say — “as it ought to be printed in Shakspeare.”

In all the other places where Shakspeare has been led into errors by mistakes of the press, or by false translations, his text has been very properly exhibited as he wrote it; for it is not the business of an editor to new-write his author's works. Thus, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, A& IV. sc. i. we have — “Le: the old ruffian know, *I* have many other ways to die;” though we know the sense of the passage in Plutarch there copied is, — that “*he* [the old ruffian] hath many other ways to die.” Again, in *Julius Cæsar*, Antony is still permitted to say, that Cæsar had left the Roman people his arbours and orchards “on *this* side Tyber,” though it

Let's whip these stragglers o'er the seas again;
 Lash hence these over-weening rags of France,
 These famish'd beggars, weary of their lives;
 Who, but for dreaming on this fond exploit,
 For want of means, poor rats, had hang'd them-
 selves:

If we be conquer'd, let men conquer us,
 And not these bastard Breagnes; whom our fa-
 thers

Have in their own land beaten, bobb'd, and thump'd,
 And, on record, left them the heirs of shame.

Shall these enjoy our lands? lie with our wives?
 Ravish our daughters?—Hark, I hear their drum.

[*Drum afar off.*

ought to be — “on *that* side Tyber:” both which mistakes Shakspeare was led into by the ambiguity and inaccuracy of the old translation of Plutarch.

In like manner in *King Henry V.* *præclarissimus* is exhibited as it was written by Shakspeare, instead of *præcarissimus*; and in the same play I have followed our author in printing in Vol. XIII. p. 281, Lewis the *tenth*, though Lewis the *ninth* was the person meant: an error into which he was led, as in the present instance, by a mistake of the press.

For all such inaccuracies the poet, and not his editor, is responsible: and in the passage now under our consideration more particularly the text ought not to be disturbed, because it ascertains a point of some moment; namely that Holinshed, and not Hall, was the historian that Shakspeare followed. Of how much consequence this is, the reader may ascertain by turning to the *Dissertation on the plays of King Henry VI.* where this circumstance, if I do not deceive myself, contributes not a little in addition to the other proofs there adduced, to settle a long-agitated question, and to shew that those plays were *re-written* by Shakspeare, and not his *original composition*. MALONE.

⁷ *A milkop, &c.*] So, in *The Mirrour for Magistrates* already quoted:

“First with ou r foe-mens captaine to begin,

“A weake We lch milkop, — —.”

Alluding perhaps to *goat's milk*, of which anciently the Welch were fonder than they are at present. STEEVENS.

Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeomen!
 Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head;
 Spur your proud horses hard, and ride in blood;
 Amaze the welkin with your broken flaves!⁸ —

Enter a Messenger.

What says lord Stanley? will he bring his power?

MES. My lord, he doth deny to come.

K. RICH. Off instantly with his son George's
 head.⁹

NOR. My lord, the enemy is pass'd the marsh;²
 After the battle let George Stanley die.

K. RICH. A thousand hearts are great within my
 bosom:

Advance our standards,³ set upon our foes;

⁸ *Amaze the welkin with your broken flaves!*] That is, fright the
 skies with the shivers of your lances. JOHNSON.

So, in *Soliman and Perseda*:

"Now by the marble face of the *welkin*."

The same idea is more tamely expressed in W. Smith's *Palsgrave*,
 1613:

"Spears flew in splinters half the way to heaven."

STEEVENS.

⁹ *Off instantly &c.*] The word — *instantly*, was supplied by Sir
 Thomas Hanmer. Without it, this line has no pretensions to metre.

STEEVENS.

² — *the enemy is pass'd the marsh*;) There was a large marsh
 in Bosworth plain between the two armies. Henry pass'd it, and
 made such a disposition of his forces that it served to protect his
 right wing. By this movement he gained also another point, that
 his men should engage with the sun behind them, and in the faces
 of his enemies: a matter of great consequence when bows and
 arrows were in use. MALONE.

³ *Advance our standards, &c.*] So again, in *The Mirror of Ma-
 gistrates*; and apparently borrowed from Shakspeare:

"Advance then captaines, forward to the fight,

"Draw forth your swords, each man address his sheeld;

"Hence faint conceits, die thoughts of coward flight,

Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons!
Upon them! Victory fits on our helms.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

Another part of the field.

*Alarum. Excursions. Enter NORFOLK, and forces;
to him CATESBY.*

CATE. Rescue, my lord of Norfolk, rescue, rescue!
The king enacts more wonders than a man,
Daring an opposite to every danger;³

“To heaven your hearts, to fight your valours yeeld:

“Behold our foes do brave us in the field.

“Upon them, friends; the cause is yours and mine;

“Saint George and conquest on our helmes doth shine.”

STEEVENS.

So Holinshed after Hall: “—like valiant champions advance forth your standares, and assay whether your enemies can decide and try the title of battaile by dint of sword; avaunce, I say again, forward, my captaines. — Now Saint George to borrow, let us set forward.” MALONE.

³ *Daring an opposite to every danger;*] Perhaps the poet wrote:
Daring and opposite to every danger. TYRWHITT.

Perhaps the following passage in Chapman's version of the eighth book of Homer's *Odyssey* may countenance the old reading:

“—— a most dreadful fight

“*Daring against him.*” STEEVENS.

The old reading is perhaps right. *An opposite* is frequently used by Shakspeare and the contemporary writers, for *adversary*. So, in *Twelfth Night*: “— your *opposite* hath in him what youth, strength, skill, and wrath, can furnish man withal.” Again: “— and his *opposite* the youth, bears in his visage no presage of

His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,
 Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death:
 Rescue, fair lord, or else the day is lost!

Alarum. Enter King RICHARD.

K. RICH. A horse! a horse! ⁴ my kingdom for a horse!

CATE. Withdraw, my lord, I'll help you to a horse.

cruelty." So, in *Blurt Mr. Constable*, a comedy by Middleton, 1602: "to strengthen us against all opposites." Again, more appositely, in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602:

"Myself myself, will dare all opposites."

The sense then should seem to be, that king Richard enacts wonders, *daring the adversary he meets with to every danger attending single combat.* MALONE.

To dare a single opposite to every danger, is no very wonderful exploit.—I should therefore adopt Tyrwhitt's amendment, which infers that he flew to oppose every danger, wherever it was to be found, and read with him, "*and opposite.*" M. MASON.

⁴ *A horse! a horse!*] In *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594, the Moor calls out in the same manner:

"A horse, a horse, villain a horse!

"That I may take the river straight, and fly!

"——Here is a horse, my lord,

"As swiftly pac'd as Pegasus."

This passage in Shakspeare appears to have been imitated by several of the old writers, if not stolen. So, Heywood, in the Second Part of his *Iron Age*, 1632:

"——a horse, a horse!

"Ten kingdoms for a horse to enter Troy!" STEEVENS.

Marston seems to have imitated this line in his *Satyres*, 1599:

"A man, a man, a kingdom for a man!" MALONE.

This line is introduced into Marston's *What you will*, A& II. sc. i. 4to. 1607:

"Ha! he mounts Chirall on the wings of fame.

"*A horse! a horse! my kingdome for a horse!*

"Looke thee, I speake play scraps," &c. REED.

K. RICH. Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,
 And I will stand the hazard of the die:
 I think, there be six Richmonds in the field;
 Five have I slain to-day, instead of him:⁵—
 A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!⁶

[*Exeunt.*]

Alarums. Enter King RICHARD and RICHMOND; and exeunt fighting. Retreat, and flourish. Then enter RICHMOND, STANLEY bearing the crown, with divers other Lords, and Forces.

RICHM. God, and your arms, be prais'd, victorious friends;

⁵ *Five have I slain to-day, instead of him:]* Shakspeare had employed this incident with historical propriety in the first Part of *King Henry IV.* STEEVENS.

Shakspeare had good ground for this poetical exaggeration. Richard, according to Polydore Virgil, was determined, if possible, to engage with Richmond in single combat. [See p. 695. l. 2.] For this purpose he rode furiously to that quarter of the field where the earl was; attacked his standard-bearer, Sir William Brandon, and killed him; then assaulted Sir John Cheney, whom he overthrew: having thus at length cleared his way to his antagonist, he engaged in single combat with him, and probably would have been victorious, but that at that instant Sir William Stanley with three thousand men joined Richmond's army, and the royal forces fled with great precipitation. Richard was soon afterwards overpowered by numbers, and fell, fighting bravely to the last moment.

MALONE.

⁶ *A horse! a horse! &c.* Some inquiry hath been made for the first performers of the capital characters of Shakspeare.

We learn, that Burbage, the *alter Roscius* of Camden, was the original Richard, from a passage in the poems of Bishop Corbet; who introduced his host at Bosworth describing the battle:

"But when he would have said king Richard died,
 "And call'd a horse, a horse, he Burbage cried."

FARMER.

The day is ours, the bloody dog is dead.

STAN. Courageous Richmond, well hast thou acquit thee!

Lo, here, this long-usurped royalty,
From the dead temples of this bloody wretch⁷
Have I pluck'd off, to grace thy brows withal;
Wear it, enjoy it, and make much of it.

RICHM. Great God of heaven, say, amen, to all!

But, tell me first,⁸ is young George Stanley living?

STAN. He is, my lord, and safe in Leicester town;

Whither, if it please you, we may now withdraw us.

RICHM. What men of name are slain on either side?

STAN. John duke of Norfolk, Walter lord Ferrers,

Sir Robert Brakenbury, and sir William Brandon.

RICHM. Inter their bodies as becomes their births.

Proclaim a pardon to the soldiers fled,
That in submission will return to us;
And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament,⁹

⁷ ———of this bloody wretch——] It is not necessary to suppose that Richmond points to the dead body of Richard, when he speaks of him. According to an ancient idiom in our language, the denominative pronoun is often used instead of the prepositive article. So, in *King Henry IV.* P. I:

“———but for *these* vile guns

“He would himself have been a soldier” STEEVENS.

⁸ *But, tell me first, &c.*] The word—*first*, was introduced by Sir Thomas Hanmer, to complete the verse. STEEVENS.

⁹ ———as we have ta'en the sacrament, So, in Holinshed, p. 745: “The earle himselfe first tooke a corporall oth on his honor, promising that incontinent after he shuld be possessed of the crowne

We will unite the white rose and the red :
 Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction,
 That long hath frown'd upon their enmity !—
 What traitor hears me, and says not,—amen?
 England hath long been mad, and scarr'd herself ;
 The brother blindly shed the brother's blood,
 The father rashly slaughter'd his own son,
 The son, compell'd, been butcher to the fire ;
 All this divided York and Lancaster,
 Divided, in their dire division.⁸—
 O, now, let Richmond and Elizabeth,
 The true succeders of each royal house,
 By God's fair ordinance conjoin together !
 And let their heirs, (God, if thy will be so,)
 Enrich the time to come with smooth fac'd peace,
 With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days !
 Abate the edge⁹ of traitors, gracious Lord,
 That would reduce² these bloody days again,

and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be conjoined in matrimonie with the ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward the fourth." STEEVENS.

⁸ *All this divided York and Lancaster,*

Divided, in their dire division] I think the passage will be somewhat improved by a slight alteration :

All that divided York and Lancaster,

Divided in their dire division,

O now let Richmond and Elizabeth,

The true succeders of each royal house,

By God's fair ordinance conjoin together!

Let them unite all that York and Lancaster divided. JOHNSON.

⁹ *Abate the edge*——] To *abate*, is to lower, depress, subdue, So, in *Coriolanus* :

"——deliver you, as most

"*Abated captives*,——." STEEVENS.

² ——reduce——] i. e. bring back : an obsolete sense of the word. So, in *The goodly History of the moste noble and beautiful Ladye Lucre of Scene in Tuskan, and of her lover Eurialus &c.* 1560 : "The mornynge forsakyng the golden bed of Titan, reduced the desyred day——." STEEVENS.

And make poor England weep in streams of blood!
 Let them not live to taste this land's increase,
 That would with treason wound this fair land's
 peace!

Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again;
 That she may long live here, God say—Amen!

[*Exeunt.*³

³ This is one of the most celebrated of our author's performances; yet I know not whether it has not happened to him as to others, to be praised most, when praise is not most deserved. That this play has scenes noble in themselves, and very well contrived to strike in the exhibition, cannot be denied. But some parts are trifling, others shocking, and some improbable. JOHNSON.

I agree entirely with Dr. Johnson in thinking that this play from its first exhibition to the present hour has been estimated greatly beyond its merit. From the many allusions to it in books of that age, and the great number of editions it passed through, I suspect it was more often represented and more admired than any of our author's tragedies. Its popularity perhaps in some measure arose from the detestation in which Richard's character was justly held, which must have operated more strongly on those whose grand-fathers might have lived near his time; and from its being patronized by the queen on the throne, who probably was not a little pleased at seeing King Henry VII. placed in the only favourable light in which he could have been exhibited on the scene. MALONE.

I most cordially join with Dr. Johnson and Mr. Malone in their opinions; and yet perhaps they have overlooked one cause of the success of this tragedy. The part of Richard is perhaps, beyond all others variegated, and consequently favourable to a judicious performer. It comprehends, indeed, a trait of almost every species of character on the stage. The hero, the lover, the statesman, the buffoon, the hypocrite, the hardened and repenting sinner &c. are to be found within its compass. No wonder therefore that the discriminating powers of a Burbage, a Garrick, and a Henderson, should at different periods have given it a popularity beyond other dramas of the same author.

Yet the favour with which this tragedy is now received, must also in some measure be imputed to Mr. Cibber's reformation of it, which generally considered, is judicious: for what modern audience would patiently listen to the narrative of Clarence's Dream, his subsequent expostulation with the murderers, the prattle of his children, the soliloquy of the Scrivener, the tedious dialogue of the

citizens, the ravings of Margaret, the gross terms thrown out by the Dukes of York on Richard, the repeated progress to execution, the superfluous train of speeches, and other undramatick incumbrances, which must have prevented the more valuable parts of the play from rising into their present effect and consequence?—The expulsion of languor therefore must atone for such remaining want of probability as is inseparable from an historical drama into which the events of fourteen years are irregularly compressed.

STEEVENS.

The Life and Death of King Richard the Third.] The oldest known edition of this tragedy is printed for Andrew Wise, 1597: but Harrington, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, written 1596, and prefixed to the translation of *Ariosto*, says, that a tragedy of *Richard the Third*, had been acted at Cambridge. His words are, "For tragedies, to omit other famous tragedies, that which was played at St. John's in Cambridge, of *Richard the Third*, would move, I think, Phalaris the tyrant, and terrifie all tyrannous minded men," &c. He most probably means Shakspeare's; and if so, we may argue, that there is some more antient edition of this play than what I have mentioned; at least this shows how early Shakspeare's play appeared; or if some other *Richard the Third* is here alluded to by Harrington, that a play on this subject preceded our author's.

T. WARTON.

It appears from the following passage in the preface to Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up*, 1596, that a Latin tragedy of *King Richard III.* had been acted at Trinity college, Cambridge: "—— or his fellow codshead, that in the Latine tragedie of *King Richard*, cried — *Ad urbs, ad urbs, ad urbs*, when his whole part was no more than — *Urbs, urbs, ad arma, ad arma.*" STEEVENS.

The play on this subject mentioned by Sir John Harrington in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1591, and sometimes mistaken for Shakspeare's, was a Latin one, written by Dr. Legge; and acted at St. John's in our university, some years before 1588, the date of the copy in the Museum. This appears from a better MS. in our library at Emmanuel, with the names of the original performers.

A childish imitation of Dr. Legge's play was written by one Lacy, 1588; which had not been worth mentioning, were they not confounded by Mr. Capell. FARMER.

The Latin play of *K. Richard III.* (Mss. Harl. n. 6926, has the author's name, — Henry Lacey, and is dated — 1586.

TYRWHITT.

Heywood, in his *Actor's Vindication*, mentions the play of *King Richard III.* "acted in St. John's Cambridge, so essentially, that had the tyrant *Phalaris* beheld his bloody proceedings, it had mol-

lified his heart, and made him relent at sight of his inhuman massacres." And in the bookes of the Stationers' Company, June 19, 1594, Thomas Creede made the following entry. "An enterlude, intituled the tragedie of *Richard the Third*, wherein is shewn the deathe of Edward the Fourthe, with the smotheringe of the two princes in the Tower, with the lamentable ende of Shore's wife, and the contention of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke." This could not have been the work of Shakspeare, unless he afterwards dismissed the death of Jane Shore as an unnecessary incident, when he revised the play. Perhaps, however, it might be some translation of Lacey's play, at the end of the first act of which is, "The shewe of the proceffion. 1. Tipstaffe. 2. *Shore's wife* in her petticoate, having a taper burning in her hande. 3. The Verger. 4. Queristers. 5. Singing-men. 6. Prebendary. 7. Bishoppe of London. 8. Citizens." There is likewise a Latin song sung on this occasion, in MS. Harl. 2412. STEEVENS.

The English *King Richard III.* which was entered on the Stationers' books in 1594, and which, it may be presumed, had been exhibited some years before, was probably written by the author of *The Contention of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster.* MALONE.

I shall here subjoin two Dissertations, one by Dr. Warburton, and one by Mr. Upton, upon the *Vice*.

A C T III. S C E N E I.

Thus like the formal vice, Iniquity, &c.] As this corrupt reading in the common books hath occasioned our saying something of the barbarities of theatrical representations amongst us before the time of Shakspeare, it may not be improper, for a better apprehension of this whole matter, to give the reader some general account of the rise and progress of the modern stage.

The first form in which the drama appeared in the west of Europe, after the destruction of learned Greece and Rome, and that a calm of dulness had finished upon letters what the rage of barbarism had begun, was that of the Mysteries. These were the fashionable and favourite diversions of all ranks of people both in France, Spain, and England. In which last place, as we learn by Stow, they were in use about the time of Richard the second and Henry the fourth. As to Italy, by what I can find, the first rudiments of their stage, with regard to the *matter*, were prophane subjects, and, with regard to the *form*, a corruption of the ancient *mimes* and *attellanes*: by which means they got sooner into the right road than their neighbours; having had regular plays amongst them wrote as early as the fifteenth century.

As to these *mysteries*, they were, as their name speaks them, a representation of some scripture-story, *to the life*: as may be seen

from the following passage in an old French history, intitled, *La Chronique de Metz composée par le curé de St. Euchaire*; which will give the reader no bad idea of the surprising absurdity of these strange representations: "L'an 1437 le 3 Juillet (*says the honest Chronicler*) fut fait le Jeu de la Passion de N. S. en la plaine de Veximiel. Et fut Dieu un sire appelé Seigneur Nicolle Dom Neufchastel, lequel étoit Curé de St. Victour de Metz, lequel fut presque mort en la Croix, s'il ne fût été secourus; & convient qu'un autre Prêtre fut mis en la Croix pour parfaire le Personnage du Crucifiment pour ce jour; & le lendemain le dit Curé de St. Victour parfit la Resurrection, & fit très hautement son personage; & dura le dit Jeu——Et autre Prêtre qui s'appelloit Mre. Jean de Nicey, qui estoit Chapelain de Metrange, fut Judas: lequel fut presque mort en pendent, car le cuer li faillit, & fut bien hâvitemment dépendu & porté en Voye. Et étoit la bouche d'Enfer très bien faite; car elle ouvroit & clooit, quand les Diables y vouloient entrer & issir; & avoit deux gros Culs d'Acier," &c. Alluding to this kind of representations archbishop Harsnet, in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, p. 71. says, "The little children were never so afraid of Hell-mouth in the old plays, painted with great gang teeth, staring eyes, and foul bottle nose." Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, gives a fuller description of them in these words, "The *Guary Miracle*, in English a *Miracle Play*, is a kind of interlude compiled in Cornish out of some scripture history. For representing it they raise an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, having the diameter of an inclosed playne, some 40 or 50 foot. The country people flock from all sides many miles off, to hear and see it. For they have therein devils and devices, to delight as well the eye as the ear. The players conne not their parts without book, but are prompted by one called the *ordinary*, who followeth at their back with the book in his hand," &c. &c. There was always a droll or buffoon in these *mysteries*, to make the people mirth with his sufferings or absurdities: and they could think of no better a personage to sustain this part than the *devil* himself. Even in the *mystery* of the *Passion* mentioned above, it was contrived to make him ridiculous. Which circumstance is hinted at by Shakspeare (who had frequent allusions to these things) in *The Taming of the Shrew*, where one of the players asks for a little *vinegar*, (as a *property*) *to make the devil roar*.* For after the sponge with the gall and vinegar had been employed in the representation, they used to clap it to the nose of the devil; which making him roar, as if it had been *holy-water*, afforded infinite diversion to the people. So that *vinegar* in the old farces, was always afterwards in use to tor-

* This is not in Shakspeare's play, but in the *old* play entitled *The Taming of a Shrew*. MALONE.

ment their devil. We have divers old English proverbs, in which the devil is represented as acting or suffering ridiculously and absurdly, which all arose from the part he bore in these *mysteries*, as in that, for instance, of—*Great cry and little wool, as the devil said when he sheered his hogs*. For the sheep-shearing of Nabal being represented in the *mystery* of *David and Abigail*, and the devil always attending Nabal, was made to imitate it by *shearing a hog*. This kind of absurdity, as it is the properest to create laughter, was the subject of *the ridiculous* in the ancient *mimes*, as we learn from these words of saint Austin: *Ne faciamus ut mimi solent, & optemus à libero aquam, à lymphis vinum.**

These *mysteries*, we see, were given in France at first, as well as in England *sub dio*, and only in the provinces. Afterwards we find them got into Paris, and a company established in the *Hôtel de Bourgogne* to represent them. But good letters and religion beginning to make their way in the latter end of the reign of Francis the first, the stupidity and prophaneness of the *mysteries* made the courtiers and clergy join their interest for their suppression. Accordingly, in the year 1541, the procureur-general, in the name of the king, presented a *request* against the company to the parliament. The three principal branches of his charge against them were, that the representation of the Old Testament stories inclined the people to Judaism; that the New Testament stories encouraged libertinism and infidelity; and that both of them lessened the charities to the poor: It seems that this prosecution succeeded; for, in 1548, the parliament of Paris confirmed the company in the possession of the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, but interdicted the representation of the *mysteries*. But in Spain, we find by Cervantes, that they continued much longer; and held their own, even after good comedy came in amongst them: as appears from the excellent critique of the canon, in the fourth book, where he shows how the old extravagant *romances* might be made the foundation of a regular *epic* (which, he says, *tambien puede escribirse en prosa como en verso; †*) as the *mystery-plays* might be improved into artful comedy. His words are *Pues que si venimos à las comedias divinas, que de milagros falsos fingen en ellas, que de cosas apocrifas, y mal entendidas, atribuyendo a un santo los milagros de otro; ††* which made them so fond of miracles that they introduced them into *las comedias humanas*, as he calls them. To return:

Upon this prohibition, the French poets turned themselves from *religious* to *moral* farces. And in this we soon followed them: the public taste not suffering any greater alteration at first, though the Italians at this time afforded many just compositions for better models. These farces they called *moralities*. Pierre Gringore, one of their old poets, printed one of these *moralities*, intitled *La Mo-*

* Civ. D. l. iv.

† B. iv. c. 20.

†† Ibid. 21.

ralité de l'Homme Obstiné. The persons of the drama are *l'Homme Obstiné* — *Punition Divine* — *Simonie* — *Hypocrisie* — and *Demérites-Communes*. The *Homme Obstiné* is the atheist, and comes in blaspheming, and determined to persist in his impieties. Then *Punition Divine* appears, sitting on a throne in the air, and menacing the atheist with punishment. After this scene, *Simonie*, *Hypocrisie*, and *Demérites-Communes* appear and play their parts. In conclusion, *Punition Divine* returns, preaches to them, upbraids them with their crimes, and, in short, draws them all to repentance, all but the *Homme Obstiné*, who persists in his impiety, and is destroyed for an example. To this sad serious subject they added, though in a separate representation, a merry kind of farce called *Sottie*, in which there was *un Paysan* [the Clown] under the name of *Sot-Commun* [or Fool.] But we, who borrowed all these delicacies from the French, blended the *Moralité* and *Sottie* together: So that the *Paysan* or *Sot-Commun*, the *Clown* or *Fool*, got a place in our serious *moralties*: Whose business we may understand in the frequent allusions our Shakspeare makes to them: as in that fine speech in the beginning of the third act of *Measure for Measure*, where we have this obscure passage:

“ — merely thou art *Death's Fool*,
 “ For him thou labour'st by thy flight to shun,
 “ And yet runn'st tow'rd him still.”

For, in these *moralties*, the Fool of the piece, in order to show the inevitable approaches of *Death*, (another of the *Dramatis Personæ*) is made to employ all his stratagems to avoid him; which, as the matter is ordered, bring the *Fool*, at every turn, into the very jaws of his enemy: So that a representation of these scenes would afford a great deal of good mirth and morals mixed together. The very same thing is again alluded to in these lines of *Love's Labour's Lost*:

“ So *Portent-like* I would o'er-rule his state,
 “ That he should be my *Fool*, and I his *Fate*.”

A& IV. sc. ii.

But the French, as we say, keeping these two sorts of farces distinct, they became, in time, the parents of *tragedy* and *comedy*; while we, by jumbling them together, begot in an evil hour, that mungrel species, unknown to nature and antiquity, called *tragi-comedy*. **WARBURTON.**

TO this, when Mr. Upton's Dissertation is subjoined, there will, perhaps, be no need of any other account of the *Vice*.

Like the old Vice.] The allusion here * is to the *Vice*, a droll

* i. e. in p. 3. of Mr. Upton's book, where the words — *like the old Vice* — occur. **MALONE.**

character in our old plays, accoutred with a long coat, a cap with a pair of afs's ears, and a dagger of lath. Shakspeare alludes to his buffoon appearance in *Twelfth Night*, A& IV:

" In a trice, like to the old Vice ;——

" Who with dagger of lath, in his rage and his wrath,

" Cries, ah, ha! to the Devil."

In the second part of *King Henry IV.* A& III. Falstaff compares Shallow to a *Vice's* dagger of lath. In *Hamlet*, A& III. Hamlet calls his uncle :

" A *vice* of kings :"

i. e. a ridiculous representation of majesty. These passages the editors have very rightly expounded. I will now mention some others, which seem to have escaped their notice, the allusions being not quite so obvious.

The iniquity was often the *Vice* in our moralities ; and is introduced in Ben Jonson's play called *The Devil's an Afs* : and likewise mentioned in his Epigr. cxv :

" Being no vitious person, but the *Vice*

" About the town,

" A& old *Iniquity*, and in the fit

" Of miming, gets th' opinion of a wit."

But a passage cited from his play will make the following observations more plain. A& I. Pug asks the Devil " to lend him a *Vice* :

" *Satan*. What *Vice*?

" What kind would thou have it of?

" *Pug*. Why, any *Fraud*,

" Or *Covetousness*, or lady *Vanity*,

" Or old *Iniquity*: I'll call him hither."

Thus the passage should be ordered :

" *Pug*. Why any : *Fraud*,

" Or *Covetousness*, or lady *Vanity*,

" Or old *Iniquity*.

" *Pug*. I'll call him hither."

" Enter *Iniquity the Vice*.

" *Ini*. What is he calls upon me, and would seem to

" lack a *Vice*?

" Ere his words be half spoken, I am with him in a trice."

And in his *Staple of News*, A& II:

" *Mirth*. How like you the *Vice* i' th' play?

" *Expectation*. Which is he?

" *Mirth*. Three or four; old *Covetousness*, the fordid *Penny-Boy*, the *Money Bawd*, who is a flesh-bawd too, they say.

" *Tattle*. But here is never a *Fiend* to carry him away. Besides, he has never a wooden dagger! I'd not give a rush for a *Vice*, that has not a wooden dagger to snap at every body he meets.

"*Mirth*. That was the old way, gossip, when *Iniquity* came in, like hokos pokos, in a jugler's jerkin," &c.
He alludes to the *Vice* in *The Alchymist*, A& I. sc. iii:

"*Sub*. And, on your stall, a puppet, with a *Vice*." *

Some places of Shakspeare will from hence appear more easy: as in the first part of *King Henry IV*. A& II. where Hal humourously characterizing Falstaff, calls him, *That reverend Vice, that grey Iniquity, that father Ruffian, that Vanity in years*, in allusion to this buffoon character. In *King Richard III*. A& III:

"Thus like the formal *Vice*, *Iniquity*,

"I moralize two meanings in one word."

Iniquity is the formal *Vice*. Some correct the passage,

"Thus like the formal-wise *antiquity*,

"I moralize: Two meanings in one word."

Which correction is out of all rule of criticism. In *Hamlet*, A& I. there is an allusion, still more distant, to the *Vice*; which will not be obvious at first, and therefore is to be introduced with a short explanation. This buffoon character was used to make fun with the Devil; and he had several trite expressions, as, *I'll be with you in a trice: Ah, ha, boy, are you there?* &c. And this was great entertainment to the audience, to see their old enemy so belaboured in effigy. In *King Henry V*. A& IV. a boy characterizing Pistol, says, *Bardolph and Nym had ten times more valour, than this roaring Devil i' the old play: every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger*. Now Hamlet, having been instructed by his father's ghost, is resolved to break the subject of the discourse to none but Horatio; and to all others his intention is to appear as a sort of madman; when therefore the oath of secrecy is given to the centinels, and the Ghost unseen calls out, *swear*; Hamlet speaks to it as the *Vice* does to the Devil. *Ah, ha, boy, sayst thou so? Art thou there, Truepenny?* Hamlet had a mind that the centinels should imagine this was a shape that the devil had put on; and in A& III. he is somewhat of this opinion himself:

"The spirit that I have seen

"May be the devil."

The manner of speech therefore to the Devil was what all the audience were well acquainted with; and it takes off in some measure from the horror of the scene. Perhaps too the poet was willing to inculcate, that good humour is the best weapon to deal with the devil. *Truepenny*, either by way of irony, or literally from the Greek, *τρυπανον*, *veterator*. Which word the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Clouds*, ver. 447. explains, *τρυμη, ὁ περιτετριμμένος ἐν τοῖς πρύγ-*

* -----a puppet, with a Vice.] Mr. Upton has misinterpreted this passage. A *vice* in the present instance means a *device*, *clock-work*. Coryat, p. 254, speaks of a picture whose eyes were moved by a *vice*. FARMER.

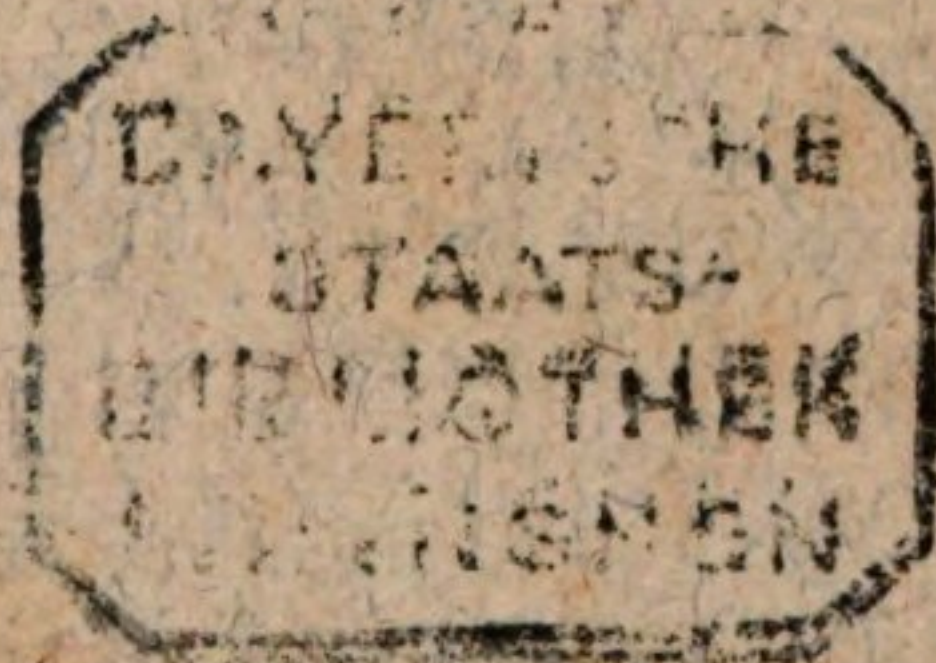
μασιν, ὃν ἡμεῖς ΤΡΥΠΑΝΟΝ καλοῦμεν. Several have tried to find a derivation of *the Vice*: if I should not hit on the right, I should only err with others. *The Vice* is either a quality personalized, as ΒΙΗ and ΚΑΡΤΟΣ in Hesiod and Æschylus; *Sin* and *Death* in Milton; and indeed *Vice* itself is a person, B. XI. 517:

“ And took *his* image whom they serv'd, a brutish *Vice*.”
his image, i. e. a brutish *Vice's* image: the *Vite*, Gluttony; not without some allusion to the *Vice* of the plays: but rather, I think, 'tis an abbreviation of *vice-devil*, as *vice-roy*, *vice-doges*, &c. and therefore properly called *the Vice*. He makes very free with his master, like most other *vice-roys*, or prime ministers. So that he is the Devil's *Vice*, and prime minister; and 'tis this that makes him so saucy. UPTON.

Mr. Upton's learning only supplies him with absurdities. His derivation of *vice* is too ridiculous to be answered.

I have nothing to add to the observations of these learned critics, but that some traces of this antiquated exhibition are still retained in the rustick puppet-plays, in which I have seen the *Devil* very lustily belaboured by *Punch*, whom I hold to be the legitimate successor of the old *Vice*. JOHNSON.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH VOLUME.



Shakespeare, William, / Johnson, Samuel / Steevens, George,

The Plays of William Shakespeare with the corrections and illustrations of
various commentators, to which are added notes

Bd.: Vol. 15

Basil 1801

P.o.angl. 360 v-15

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